THE ENGLISH REVIEW

28th Year of Publication

Edited by DOUGLAS JERROLD

CONTENTS, JULY, 1934.

Correspondence	*R. Hernekin Baptist and G. C. B. Cotterell*
Current Comments	*Douglas Jerrold*
Agriculture Under Fascism	*Odon Por*
Parliamentary Reform—The Urgent Need	*The Earl of Cottenham*
Poems : Woodman to Maiden; The Herdman Triumphs Over the Woodmen	*Kenneth Hare*
Clisson and Eugénie	*Napoleon Bonaparte*
Samuel Taylor Coleridge	*Hugh Kingsmill*
Austria, Hungary, and the Habsburgs	*Charles Cunningham*
Strategy and Swaraj	*Lieut.-Col. A. Baird Smith, D.S.O.*
The Menace to India's Health	*Lieut.-Col. C. L. Dunn, C.I.E.*
A Countryman's Diary	*A. G. Street*
Foreign Affairs	*Sir Charles Petrie*
Literary Supplement : *Herbert Agar ; J. D. Gregory ; Hugh Kingsmill ; Eleanor C. Chilton ; Francis Toye ; Ashley Sampson ; Eric Partridge ; Arnold Lunn ; M. C. D'Arcy.*	

CONTRIBUTIONS ARE WELCOMED AND SHOULD BE ADDRESSED TO THE EDITOR ACCOMPANIED BY A STAMPED ADDRESSED ENVELOPE.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION 14/- POST FREE TO ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD.

EYRE AND SPOTTISWOODE (PUBLISHERS) LIMITED

6, GREAT NEW STREET, LONDON, E.C. 4.

Correspondence

Squeers at the Colonial Office

To the Editor of THE ENGLISH REVIEW

SIR,—Will you allow me a little space to correct a mistake or wrong impression in an article in your April issue with the above title. The author says: "For the African—the majority of educated Africans, it is said with good authority—is far from happy. Gazing into the future with the startled eyes of the wild deer, his human heart is not, as Blake and Mr. Hernekin Baptist would have one believe, free from care; for he sees at his hut's threshold the twin menace of Indirect Rule and Anthropology."

I merely wish to point out that my book *Wild Deer* was only written to prove that the educated African, as also the industrialized African, is far from happy under existing conditions and is looking into a future that promises far worse conditions. This point seems to have been easily grasped at least by my reviewers. So unpopular is the theme of *Wild Deer* in South Africa that in Johannesburg, the hunting ground of the kings of commerce, no less than of the anthropologist, the book has been quietly but effectively banned. The municipal library does not countenance it, the booksellers have heard a whisper from the hierarchy that it would be better if they were not to stock it.

I hesitate to suggest it, but it seems to me that Mr. Cotterell is not much more conversant with Blake that he is with *Wild Deer*. Blake's well-known couplet—

> The wild deer wandering here and there
> Keeps the human heart from care,

was not written to suggest that a deer or a black man has startled eyes, but that mankind is happier if he leaves a few sanctuaries in the world for man and beast.

One other point: is it really true, as Mr. Cotterell pictures for us, that the lesser kudu makes a habit of sitting on its haunches? The antelope and buck family do not as a rule sit like terriers but more like cows. Mr. Cotterell may argue that this was a joke. If so, it seems to me to add more confusion than sense to a piece of extremely "indirect" journalism.

Naturally as the author of *Wild Deer* I heartily agree with Mr. Cotterell that there should be no hurry in Africa: no haste in the application of Indirect Rule. I agree with him that the academic mind is a foolishness in Africa. But after thirty years spent in this country I am very certain that any gentle anthropologist or Indirect Ruler operating from Whitehall is God himself compared with the Rand capitalist who "opens out" peaceful native regions to gold-diggers, male and female. Let us therefore cherish them while yet we may.

I am, etc.,

R. HERNEKIN BAPTIST.

[*Continued on page* 4

JUST PUBLISHED

AN EMPTY LAND

PIONEERS AND PIONEERING IN AUSTRALIA

The Hon. Sir JOHN KIRWAN

"A very **readable** book about **fascinating** places and fascinating people."—*TOM CLARKE*

Deserving of a permanent place in the library of travel and colonisation."—*SCOTSMAN*

"Stories that put the tales of the pioneers of the American West in the shade. This is a book to read."—*LIVERPOOL POST*

"Those who want to follow the **tale of modern adventure in far places,** or just to bask in the memories of a zealous Imperialist, will find this book equally to their minds."—*DAILY TELEGRAPH*

Demy 8vo. *Fully illustrated* 15/- *net*

Second and Enlarged Edition

MONARCHY OR MONEY POWER

R. McNAIR WILSON 6/- *net*

Including a section dealing with President Roosevelt's monetary policy

"A tremendous offensive against the money power . . . very shrewd arguments."—*LIVERPOOL POST*

"Profound thought and deep insight."—*A. S. WADE*

THE PULITZER PRIZE

The most important literary distinction in the United States —has been awarded to:

THE AMERICAN PRESIDENTS

HERBERT AGAR 10/6 *net*

"Brilliantly written."—*D. C. SOMERVELL*

"This remarkable essay. Some of the dignity of an omen." —*TIMES*

"A scintillating review."—*NEW STATESMAN*

EYRE & SPOTTISWOODE

Correspondence—*continued.*

Mr. Cotterell writes: It appears from Mr. R. Hernekin Baptist's letter that my adaptation of Blake's couplet has misled him into thinking that I referred to the argument of his book, *Wild Deer*. My purpose was, however, confined solely to the literal meaning of the couplet itself, and my mention of his book in a footnote solely to the fact that he had quoted the couplet. Mr. Baptist's letter makes it clear that there is room for too facile misconstruction and I hope that he will accept my apologies for the ambiguity. I am grateful for Mr. Baptist's explanation of Blake's meaning; I had always placed a much more transcendental value on those lovely words.

I am sorry to hear of the dark forces operating against the sale of *Wild Deer* in South Africa. As one of the reviewers whom Mr. Baptist mentions, perhaps you will let me quote from my own impressions of his book, which I had the privilege of reviewing for *The West African Review*. I said: "*Wild Deer* is an important book . . . important to . . . all students of racial problems. It is paramountly a book that needed to be written, and it has certainly been written very well indeed. . . . *Wild Deer* is an indictment not easy to answer, in South Africa at least."

I fear that I am not seriously interested in the genuflexions of the lesser kudu. As Mr. Baptist rightly guesses, I put that in, like the bark in the riddle, to make it harder. We indirect journalists will have our indirect little jokes, and are rarely sincere.

GOOD HOMES MAKE HAPPY CHILDREN

THE SHAFTESBURY HOMES and "ARETHUSA" TRAINING SHIP

(Founded 1843)

have under their care in their Homes at Bisley, Esher, London, Orpington, Royston and Twickenham, and in the Training Ship "Arethusa"

1,100 POOR BOYS AND GIRLS

who are trained so well that they become good and useful citizens of the Empire.

THIS SPLENDID WORK DESERVES HELP

PLEASE SEND A DONATION TO-DAY
and help to make these young lives happy

164, SHAFTESBURY AVENUE, LONDON, W.C.2

President: H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES, K.G.

EMPIRE PRODUCTS

BUY THEM FROM THE PIONEER STORE FOR EMPIRE PRODUCTS.

TO all those who wish to buy Empire products and to shop in a store which has traded for upwards of half a century under the best British traditions, the Army & Navy Stores makes a special appeal. Stress has always been laid on the privilege of Membership in contrast to the open-store system, and the personal touch has been carefully preserved.

[*Particulars of Membership, which is free of charge, can be obtained upon application to the General Manager.*]

Price List of British Empire Products free on application.

Telephone Number: VICTORIA 8500.

ARMY & NAVY

Co-operative Society, Ltd.,
WESTMINSTER, LONDON,
S.W.1.

Telegrams: ARMY, SOWEST, LONDON.

Mr. Alec Waugh

The Celebrated Novelist, **writes:**

"The future of every human being is shadowed by the menace of incurable disease. It is hoped and believed that in a few years this menace will be removed; that the cure will be found for what was held to be incurable. But in its great fight against disease The Cancer Hospital is heavily handicapped by lack of funds. Surely every man should regard his contribution to its support in the same light that he regards the payment of the Life Insurance premiums that he makes so readily. In both cases he is safeguarding his own and his dependents' future.

"Will you not look on it in that light, for your own sake and for the future?"

Please send a gift to the Secretary

The Cancer Hospital

(FREE)

FULHAM ROAD (*Incorporated under Royal Charter.*) **LONDON, S.W.3**

Bankers: COUTTS & Co., 440 Strand, London, W.C.2

"TRUTH"

Grows Better Than Ever

ITS outspoken comments are always valuable to those who desire to keep pace with public affairs. And, of course, the value of its enlightened and critical survey of all Investments of importance is inestimable.

Then there are the authoritative articles by writers of distinction on Politics, Sport, Music, Art, the Theatre, Books and Motoring; the typical diary by the New Pepys, a Queer Story and exposures of all kinds of frauds.

Altogether, the journal—quite apart from its high literary standing—is necessary to everyone who needs an adequate survey of the movements of men and affairs.

NINEPENCE EVERY WEDNESDAY

Obtainable at all booksellers, or from

THE MANAGER, Truth Buildings, Carteret Street, London, S.W.1

by postal subscription at the following rates:

3 months, 10s. 10d. 6 months, £1 1s. 8d. 12 months, £2 3s. 4d.

THE ENGLISH REVIEW

Current Comments

JULY, 1934

Whither England ?

MR. BALDWIN, as was to be expected, referred more fully and more intelligently to Fascist activities in his speech at Osmaston Manor than did his supporters in their attacks on the Fascist meeting at Olympia. He was, however, the victim of his party and his Press, in that he spoke quite obviously without any knowledge of Sir Oswald Mosley's speech at THE ENGLISH REVIEW Luncheon Club two days before. The reason, no doubt, was that the only parts of this very important speech which were properly reported were those unimportant passages regarding the Olympia meeting. What was important was Sir Oswald Mosley's clear and straightforward statement of his constitutional policy. In the first place he stated that he would only seek power through the ordinary method of fighting seats and aiming at a majority in the House of Commons. In the second place he proposes, having secured a majority, to substitute functional for regional representation in the Lower House. Thirdly, he proposes to retain the regional voting system for a five (or four) yearly vote of confidence or no confidence in the government. Fourthly, he accepts the traditional view that a government which fails to secure a vote of confidence from the people must resign. In the light of these clear statements, it is futile and foolish for the leaders of other parties to go on saying, as Mr. Baldwin did at Osmaston Manor, that the Fascists " desire ultimately to suppress opposition and to proceed by dictatorial methods."

A warning

AN urgent warning is needed, not to Sir Oswald Mosley, but to Mr. Baldwin and his colleagues on this point

If they will come out into the open and attack the Fascist constitutional principles for what they are, and not for what they would like them to be for electioneering purposes, the old leaders will continue to enjoy the respect, and for some time longer, the confidence of the country. But today the very serious suspicion is widely felt that the old parties are trying, in order to secure another lease of power, to invent a bogus issue of democracy versus violence. A bogus issue is never a good issue, and the loss of prestige consequent on selecting a bogus issue such as this might ruin the National Government and make the return to power of the present Socialist opposition something far more than a possibility. There is a real and deep feeling among many in all classes that the old parties and the old leaders are engaged in forming a united front against young parties with new ideas and younger leaders. This was the feeling which destroyed Parliamentary democracy in Italy and in Germany, and it will destroy it here unless it is itself quickly removed. It is on the part of the old parties that we wish to see a return to the traditional English methods of fair argument and persuasion. The English people propose to decide this constitutional issue for themselves as they have decided other equally grave issues in the past. These stale jibes about foreign conceptions and un-English methods are an exact repetition of the methods by which the anti-reform leaders tried to defeat the movement which culminated with the Reform Bill of 1832, and tried later to prevent the growth of the trade union movement. These methods will certainly fail, and as they have always failed in the past.

Why Fascist Meetings are Attacked

THE older parties should be very careful before they congratulate themselves on the fact that violent interruption is concentrated on Fascist meetings. The reason is not because the razor gangs and other roughs who were escorted (marching) to the doors of Olympia

represent the typical English reaction to foreign political ideas. This balderdash dishonours those who talk it. The reason is that the revolutionary forces who, here as on the Continent, lurk behind the forces of the Left are concentrating on what they believe to be the most powerful force opposed to their policies. I think they may be quite wrong. I am certain that they could still be proved wrong, but only if the old parties open their ranks to new men and their minds to new ideas. If there is any more colour given to the belief that the old parties who are combined in the present National Government would prefer to see a Socialist Government succeeding them rather than any modification of the present Parliamentary system, then the end of that system is, whether we like it or not, assured. The National Government must either become a constructive force for the building of a healthy social order based on economic and spiritual freedom or give place to those who have really got a constructive programme alternative to Socialism.

The personal factor

IT is time for plain speaking on personal issues. Sir Oswald Mosley is personally unpopular in Parliamentary circles. He has carried the fight outside the ring and has broken the rules of the Parliamentary game. But it is the leaders of the old parties and not Sir Oswald Mosley or, for that matter, Sir Stafford Cripps, who are unpopular in the country. Their personal integrity is unquestioned, but their political sincerity is questioned, and their incessant hymn of self-praise disgusts even people who agree cordially with their policies. The plain man feels that the party machines are fighting for their own lives, and not for the country; that their opposition to Socialism is half-hearted; that their grasp of the political conditions of the post-war world is feeble; that their foreign policy has failed; that their only passionate conviction is that the old political game of the " ins " and " outs " must go on to the end of the chapter. This

game has no interest for the younger generation. It will continue for a time, because of the old loyalties which it evoked in another generation. But the game is associated in the mind of youth with fifteen disastrous years during which, in any case, party boundaries have become hopelessly confused, and party leaders have shown a hardly engaging readiness to turn their coats and swallow their words. No boy or girl interested in politics today gives the minutest thought to the Liberal or Conservative parties. They are Left Wing Socialist or Fascist as a matter of course, in exactly the same way that in W. S. Gilbert's day they were little Liberals or little Conservatives. If this continues, the date of the end of the present political system is purely a mathematical question. Whether it continues will, as we said last month, be decided as much by the Conservative Central Office as by Sir Oswald Mosley.

Functional representation

OF all possible follies the attempt to deride functional as a substitute for geographical representation is the silliest. Functional representation is not an imported foreign dodge. It happens to be the old English system from which all our liberties derive. The early Parliaments were assemblies of representative nobles, representative clergy, and representatives of the smaller landed properties, (the knights of the shires) and of the merchants (the burgesses). Had universal franchise been a ruling conception in Plantagenet times it would have been conceded by adding to the nation's Parliament representatives of the yeomen, the villeins, the craftsmen and the apprentices. The present system, based on equality of individual rights, regardless of functions or property, is not English; it was grafted on to the old English occupational franchises, largely by accident, under the influence of the ideas of the French Revolutions. As all historians know, the old occupational franchises were "frozen" even before the beginning of the seventeenth century, with the result that changes in the distribution of population and

the value of money made them meaningless by the end of the eighteenth century. Many of them were meaningless two hundred years earlier, and it was in this way that the representation of the people in Parliament became quite accidentally divorced from the representation of agriculture and commerce, and a class of professional politicians flitting from constituency to constituency (appearing on the eve of an election and disappearing immediately afterwards) came into existence. In this way there crept into the very fabric of English politics the idea that the business of politics was to get professional politicians elected by the people, not to bring together real representatives of the agricultural and industrial interests. This, however, was the original conception, and it was far divorced from the present system under which a swing of the pendulum may suddenly reduce the trade union representation in Parliament to zero, and hand over the representation of important industrial constituencies to briefless barristers from London. This system has worked tolerably well in the distant past when the franchise was restricted to the relatively well to do, when all voters went to political meetings and knew their candidates, at least by sight and voice, but no one can, or, outside Parliament, does defend it today. The House of Commons must put itself in touch with public opinion by reforming itself if it wishes to avoid reform from without.

The police and public meetings

THE Government have not faced squarely the real issue about disorder at public meetings—are interrupters to be ejected by force or not? If they are, there will be no less force used at any future Fascist meetings than there was at Olympia. Everyone agrees that the police should do this job, if it is practicable, but wiser people than those on the Front Bench today decided long ago that there were grave difficulties, and the outcry that will arise the first time the police intervene to remove

a hundred interrupters from a Fascist meeting will be a thousand times greater than anything we have heard yet. Cries of Fascist brutality hurt no one but Sir Oswald Mosley, and do not hurt him very much, for few people believe them. Outcries about police brutality will be a serious threat to the administration of law and order, and we shall have all the time a running fire of accusation that the police are taking sides and displaying political bias. Every interrupter who is ejected inevitably says that he only asked a question and that he was just about to sit down when he was seized and ejected. This is part of the game of interruptions. People who want to break up the meetings of a particular party are not likely to refrain from these tactics, when they give them a chance of attacking at the same time the police and the Government of to-day as well as the Fascists.

Political uniforms

WE confess to greater sympathy with the outcry against political uniforms. The objection to these is not logical, and the wearing of them shows a welcome return of political courage. In certain circumstances they are, however, calculated to cause a breach of the peace. Would it not be wiser to seek an arrangement whereby these uniforms are not worn in the streets, except on the occasion of organized demonstrations out of doors where proper police measures can be taken to preserve the peace? "Private armies" started, of course, in Ireland, not in Italy, and it is hardly for Conservatives to criticize them, but the precedent is not altogether happy and might be taken note of. Such an arrangement, however, should be one in which all parties agree, not excluding the Communist party, whose red shirts may be expected from Moscow at any moment.

Fascism and Class Warfare

SINCE writing the above brief notes, my attention has been called to a characteristically able and hostile leading article in the *New Statesman* in their

issue of June 16th. The story circulated there is of an attempt " which threatens to destroy the whole working-class movement " by means of meetings " attended by well-dressed people in limousines—Fascist rallies are always so attended."

We do not complain of our contemporary's dislike for fascism, but of the attempt to import class bitterness into a constitutional and political struggle. The plain fact is that Fascism, unlike Socialism, has no rich land-owners, no Society leaders, no old political families, and no old Etonian ties to deck its platforms. It has not even a following in Bloomsbury. In the houses, whether in Mayfair, in Chelsea, in Kensington or Hampstead, where editors meet, we may find Conservatives, Liberals, Socialists and Communists—but not fascists. Fascism is a popular movement and it has all the crudities of such a movement.

The Navy: A Warning

WE trust that Conservative M.P.s will watch very carefully the preliminary talks which are preparing the way for the next Naval Conference. If we are not careful, we shall find that we shall enter that conference with our hands tied. It is an elementary obligation of the present House of Commons to insist that no undertakings, formal or informal, shall be entered into before the Conference without a full and frank discussion in Parliament, with an opportunity for all members of Parliament to make their views felt. Such discussion is, of course, useless if it takes place after the event. In that case grave issues of domestic and international politics prevent either free speech or a free vote. M.P.s are being assured by amateur strategists that what they may lose on the swings they can pick up on the roundabouts. Let us give up naval supremacy, they are urged, and accept air parity in its place. Doing this, they will find that they have forfeited by a stroke of pen the position hardly won by this

country during two centuries. We can neither protect our food supplies from the air, nor the fuel for our aeroplanes, and we certainly cannot maintain our position in the Far East by air power. Let those who tell us glibly that we are no longer an island tell us also how to feed our people without command of the sea.

DOUGLAS JERROLD.

YOU CAN BE
SURE OF
SHELL

Agriculture Under Fascism

By Odon Por

ANYBODY mixing with the people in Italy to-day will feel that a new reality is being created, inspiring hope and cheerfulness and a confidence that the grave problems of the day are being tackled systematically and not merely alleviated with temporary measures. Times are still strenuous, unemployment and other features of the depression are still present, but there is no shirking, the difficulties are being faced. Grumblers one meets, of course, for many vested interests are being restricted and other people's aspirations are held in check. But the country as a whole is being lifted to a higher economic and social plane and in this constructive process the whole country, every institution, every individual, is engaged; no class, no function, is left out; everyone is involved and must limit or expand his interests, capacities and functions within the general upward movement. It is from this fusion in the daily work of evolving a new system that a disciplined co-operative nation is emerging.

The reconstruction of the country for a higher collective life is proceeding by various methods appropriate to each sectional problem. In industry it is undertaken rather through state controlled rationalization of existing plants than through creation of new ones; permits for installing new factories or workshops is given only when need for them, in the general interest, is sufficiently demonstrated (Law of January 12, 1933, on Control of Industries). Such control of industrial development is indispensable; with international trade still decreasing, many industrial activities depressed, any revival of them must be based upon the demand for home consumption; industry, in short, must readapt itself mainly to the home market—a most complicated process which cannot be left to individual efforts but must be planned. In agriculture the policy of control

takes quite another direction. The maximum output of certain farm products is required to reduce the importation of great amounts of staple foods and to promote the exportation of such products as can be grown more rationally in Italy than in other countries. At the same time, close co-operation between industry and agriculture is being established for the more extensive use in industry of domestic agricultural raw materials and by products, and *vice versa*. And as, in the last analysis, permanent industrial prosperity depends on permanently prosperous agriculture "it is absolutely imperative to give the maximum of fertility to every clod of earth," as Mussolini put it in 1929.

Before the national wheat campaign, now generally known, there had been a passive acceptance of the notion that, for physical reasons, it was impossible to improve wheat production in Italy; Mussolini's Call to the Nation roused the country's will to achieve, demonstrating once more how profoundly economics may be affected by psychological factors. The outstanding achievement in agriculture has been that, through the concerted and organized efforts of the State, landlords, peasants, labourers, scientists and technicians, Italy has increased her wheat production in eight years to the extent of satisfying home consumption. The average yearly production of the five years before this co-ordinated action began in 1925, amounted to 51 million quintals, necessitating the importation of 25 million quintals per annum; home production in 1933 amounted to over 81 million quintals, thus surpassing the combined production and importation of the years preceding the national drive. This increase of 59 per cent., unsurpassed in the same period by any other country, was accomplished, not by extending the wheat area, but through intensified culture. In fact, before the War, 18 per cent. of the cultivated land was under wheat, and in 1931 only 17·2 per cent., though meanwhile the population had increased considerably. Since then, there has been a slight increase in wheat

area, due to newly reclaimed lands having come under cultivation.

The average national production per hectare immediately before 1925, was 11 quintals; the 1933 average was 15·9 quintals. The highest district average (Cremona) was 32 quintals per hectare on over 32,000 hectares. On single farms enormous averages have been obtained; in the first year of the campaign the maximum farm output reached 41 quintals; now this is a common average and has since been doubled by a farm in Parma with 82·24 quintals per hectare. Thus it is hoped that the 1933 average will become general and a still higher average be recorded.

In support of the Battle of the Wheat, the State has increased the number of Institutions of Agrarian Biology; new varieties of wheat have been created with greater resistance to climatic conditions and higher fertility. The State Agricultural Stations in every Province are provided with special sections and experimental fields for practical demonstrations of new ways of cultivation; special Wheat Commissions were created in every Province to guide and control the campaign. The establishment of a high protective tariff was followed up by a series of other measures such as the abolition of the tax on petrol for tractors; State subsidies were granted for the construction of elevators by co-operative societies, premiums were awarded for improved output, for the use of machines for the production of improved seeds, and so forth. The internal market was disciplined by loans granted for advance payments on delivery of wheat up to almost its full anticipated price, making the farmers independent of the speculators. The millers were obliged to use home grown wheat.

The results of the wheat campaign are now considered to be so well stabilized that the Minister of Agriculture, with international agreements also in view, has circulated instructions to all authorities, institutions and unions of farmers, peasants, labourers and technicians, to limit the

wheat area to the present extension and even to reduce it where a minimum of favourable conditions of soil and climate do not obtain (September 22, 1933). At the same time, he has advised further intensification of production in order to obtain on the smaller area a still greater average. As for the farming community itself, besides appreciating its material benefits, they have come to take such pride and pleasure in the spiritual adventure of this national drive that, now the first object is attained, they do not want to relax, but clamour for its continuation, its extension to other products. Mussolini has quite recently set them a new national long-range objective: the rehousing of the countryside; the planning for this was begun at once.

How deeply such sustained State initiative has penetrated can be measured by the spontaneous local initiatives cropping up everywhere. For instance, in Agnadello Cremonese, situated in the district where the highest regional wheat average was obtained and where smallholders themselves cultivating the land predominate, an Association was formed to promote the diffusion of a special method of cultivation which some of them had tried successfully. All the farmers of the village belong to the Association and participate in its work; it has opened a school of farming, and all the peasants and labourers, old and young, women and children, are attending it assiduously. The Association determines the rotations for each farm; it buys collectively fertilizers and seeds; it has induced its members to break down the enclosures that separate the farms, thus making the collective use of machinery feasible. Popular conversation turns always to the one supreme issue. Even the most conservative peasants are ready to experiment with any new methods, seeds or plants at their own risk. Their traditional conservatism has vanished in the general enthusiasm. Instead of having to be persuaded, it is the peasant who now wants to initiate better types of cultivation and goes to the technicians for advice. And

not only the peasant. It is told of the curate of the village, himself a member of the Association, that he has often been seen on the steps of his Church questioning his parishioners whether, before coming to pray in Church, they had done their duty " in the immense Temple of the fields."

Concerted action for increasing the output of staple products is, however, only one measure in the planned agricultural renaissance; the improvement of all land is another, and the reclamation of all waste land for the permanent settlement on it of the greatest possible number of peasants and labourers is its most ambitious objective. The principles and methods of this regeneration of the countryside in all its aspects are laid down in Mussolini's Law on Integral Reclamation (*Bonifica Integrale*, July 1, 1929; revised text: February 13, 1933).

As this Law embodies one of the most far reaching projects of constructive statesmanship undertaken in any Western country since the War, it is worthy of consideration in some detail. By Integral Reclamation is meant, works undertaken in the public interest on a comprehensive scale wherever this is required for the full development of land already under cultivation or for the utilization of waste land. It is being conducted in defined areas, according to a national plan in which are coordinated all the relevant hygienic, demographical, economic and social advantages to be secured for the nation. These areas include lakes, marshes, waste lands of every kind, mountain regions where hydrological and forest conditions are unsatisfactory, land used only partially or very extensively for reasons of a physical or social nature which can be altered to permit of more intensive agriculture. The territories to be redeemed are in two categories: in the first are those whose exceptional importance is recognized especially for purposes of colonization, involving very heavy financial responsibilities on the part of the landlords; all other land is classified in the second category.

The following works are undertaken by the State :— (*a*) afforestation, river improvements, creation of pastures, all drainage and irrigation work in mountain areas; (*b*) drainage of lakes, marshes or any water-logged lands; (*c*) foreshore and river bank protection; (*d*) provision of domestic water supplies; (*e*) the water supply for farming purposes; (*f*) electrification; (*g*) road and house building; (*h*) the integration of farms, even if the property of different owners, in rational farming units. The execution of all other work, supplementary to the purposes of integral reclamation, is compulsory upon the proprietors.

For each classified territory a general plan of reclamation must be elaborated, specifying the work which the State is to carry out and the general lines which the transformation of the reclaimed land into farms is to follow; the plans must also estimate the presumable economic and other results of the scheme. Plans for territories belonging to the first Category must provide for colonization; for malarial zones the plans must include preventive measures for the protection of the workers employed in reclamation.

Approved schemes coming under section (*a*) above, and for other river works in the plains, are entirely paid for by the State; to the expense of all other work—which is obligatory—the State contributes in a varying degree from 75 to 92 per cent. Land improvement which is in the second Category, land already cultivated, may be subsidized by the State to the extent of 38 per cent.; in special cases this state contribution may be increased to as much as 75 per cent. for rural water supply, and to 45 per cent. for rural district electrification and the use of electricity. The 38 per cent. state contribution can be obtained for the following schemes: irrigation and drainage, exploitation of water sources for farming and domestic purposes, construction and improvement of farm roads, electrical extensions, electrical overhead transport, construction or improvement of farm houses or entire

villages, use of explosives in land reclamation, transformation of pumping stations from steam to electrical power, purchase of all sorts of electrical machines and tractors, improvement of pastures, plantation of any kind, and generally any improvement that can be made in the interest of one or more farms outside a general plan of reclamation.

The owners of the lands to be reclaimed or improved can form an Association (Consortium), which plans the work to be done in a defined area and secures from the state the permission to execute it; these Associations are approved by Royal Decree when the majority of the interested persons agree; but where local initiative is not forthcoming, the creation of a Consortium may be made obligatory. Works of which the State pays the entire cost may be carried out directly by the State, or may be conceded to an Association or to contractors. Anyone doing reclamation work may be obliged to employ labour organized by the Trade Unions and directed from one district to another by the Commissariat of Internal Migration and Colonization. Settlement by peasant families from over-populated districts may be made obligatory in the case of reclaimed land of the first Category.

Work which the landowners are obliged to execute at their own expense can be undertaken for them by the Associations and can be paid for in instalments during a period of 5 to 50 years; the financing of this can be done directly by the landowner or through his Association. But if the landowner for any reason fails to begin the execution of the work within the period fixed by the authorities, his estate may be expropriated in favour of the Associations, public institution or some other persons.*

The Associations plan and manage all the technical and financial affairs pertaining to reclamation and main-

* The Prefect of Pistoia has ordered the expropriation of a large estate in that Province because the landlord neglected to cultivate it properly. The estate has been handed over to the local federation of farmers.—*The Times*, June 6, 1934.

tain—which is their permanent function—the reclaimed territories in efficient cultivation. They are public statutory bodies—all territories under integral reclamation are classified as "public utilities"—with powers to levy contributions from their members. They operate within the limits of the existing laws and their own by-laws, which latter must be approved by at least as many members as represent one fourth of the territory to be reclaimed. The Minister of Agriculture can appoint a representative on the Boards of these Associations. The various local Associations—now numbering 1292 and controlling over 6 million hectares—are united in a National Association which controls their financial operations; all their other functions are controlled by the competent state organs.

The State and semi-State Banks, the savings banks and the various State Insurance Institutions are authorized by law to finance the Associations on very favourable terms. Single Associations or their Combines may issue bonds that can be taken up by the banks and institutions mentioned, or may be sold to the public. The increase of revenue from reclamation is exempt from taxes for a period of twenty years; the landowners cannot claim higher rents from their tenants than they paid before.

In the Associations, public and private action is thus combined; they are not simple contractors to whom the State or the landowners allot the purely material work, they are local authorities to whom the State delegates the function of assisting and guiding the landowners, of controlling and eventually substituting them; they are, in short, responsible for seeing that reclamation is indeed integral.

The Fourth Report of the Under-Secretary of State for Integral Reclamation (January, 1934), shows that the extension of territory under reclamation on July 1, 1933, reached well over 4 million hectares, while more than 6½ million hectares of mountain area were being tackled and about 39,000 hectares of farm roads were built. Over three

and a half milliards of Lire were authorised for new reclamation during the last four years and work was completed for almost this amount. For the present fiscal year, ending July 1, 1934, over 600 million Lire were granted. These figures speak for themselves.

Coordinated and integral execution of planned reclamation of a public and private character is going on incessantly from the mountains to the sea in every district. The spectacular achievements in the Pontine Marshes, where hundreds of thousands of acres have been redeemed, transformed into intensive farms, settled by thousands of peasant families, where farm houses, entire cities and villages were built within a couple of years or so, have been reported in the daily press. But works of almost the same magnitude have been completed and are being undertaken or planned in many localities. To describe only the most important ones would take volumes and therefore we have limited our statement to the methods and means by which this agricultural regeneration is instrumented.

During the present year, hundreds of thousands of acres are passing into cultivation. The aim of the state, as laid down in the Law, is to settle on these lands the greatest possible number of peasant families. They are provided with farms completely equipped with modern houses, drinking water, stables, sheds, tools, ploughs and other lighter machines, carts and cattle; until their farms begin to yield sufficient crops to maintain them properly, seeds, fodder, food and cash are allowed them on credit by the landowners. The net profit of each farm is divided equally between the peasant and the landowner; but the peasant can raise poultry and pigs for his family and get fuel and milk free of charge. The peasant can buy the farm in 15 or more yearly instalments, paid out of his share of the products of the farm. Until payment is completed, the technical and business management of the farm remains with the landowner. The peasants of an estate can unite in co-operative societies

for a great variety of functions, including the leasing or freeholding of the farms themselves, or their collective cultivation, as has been done in some cases, for example in the Province of Grosseto.

Obviously for such reclamation and settlement schemes a great outlay of capital has to be invested and much working capital is required, particularly in the case of the big estates—the very ones which, for social and economic reasons it is desired to reclaim and settle within a short period. But many landowners, especially with the prevailing low prices of agricultural products, are not willing to risk it; where this is so, as in the greater part of the Pontine Marshes, their estates have to be expropriated. A special Institution for this purpose—the National Association of Ex-Soldiers—is operating in many part of the country, under Mussolini's direct and daily control. This Association buys up the land, plans and executes reclamation, and settles ex-soldier families only on the land. The method is to be extended.* As neither peasants nor labourers are in the position to buy land outright, and satisfactory capitalistic enterprises for this purpose are insufficient, other solutions are being studied by the Government; it is probable that Regional Institutions of a public character will be created, with power to expropriate the landowners, even in cases where they are willing to carry out a scheme under the law but for public reasons it is expedient to do so entirely with public means; the Institutions will then reclaim the land and redistribute it among peasants or co-operative societies of labourers.

These are the main methods and means by which the Agrarian renaissance in Italy is being realized. Other important efforts are directed toward the same objective. One of these, promoted in the interest of the vast number of farm labourers who live mostly on seasonal

* Since this article was written the Italian Parliament decided to make financial arrangements that will enable the National Association of Ex-Soldiers to intensify its nation-wide enterprise.

work, and otherwise become dependent on relief works, can be indicated by a few examples. In some Provinces, all the farms have been surveyed on the initiative of the Farm Labourers Unions; when it is found that a farm is not cultivated rationally, the landlord or peasant is obliged to do so by hiring an additional number of farm labourers. Again it happens frequently that the members of a peasant family are not sufficient to cultivate intensively the fields allotted to them; in this case, their territory is restricted to as much as the family is actually able to take care of and the rest of the land is turned over to labourers on advantageous terms. In the Province of Reggio Emilia, 4,000 families were benefited by the distribution of land so assigned and over 80,000 more work days were secured to labourers. In one Province alone (Modena) over 10,000 families thus had the use of over 3 acres each. While these methods at first encountered great hostility, they are now accepted as practical and desirable in the interest of all concerned and are spreading everywhere.

Summing up, then, the planned Italian agricultural renaissance is being effected by varied and comprehensive methods; it is being achieved by the collaboration of the State and all classes concerned in the industry; it is lifting the whole rural population to a higher collective life, not by ruining anybody but by merging single interests into one national endeavour.

Woodman to Maiden

WHEN the morning rises clear,
Then rise we to keep the deer,
Or to strike a buck or roe,
If our master will it so.
When the purple twilight falls,
Woodmen seek no tow'r nor walls,
But their cave with rustic hearth,
Then to ballads and to mirth!
Or to righting what's amiss
With our tackle, mending this
Shaft or bracer, cord or glove,
Or to meeting with a love,
For no girl can pass us by
But she dart us from her eye,
Though no word she uttereth,
Such a look as promiseth.
For the platter and the cup,
Well we breakfast, nobly sup,
Ven'zon, widgeon, mallard, swan,
These the cates we feast upon.
Red Gascoigne or Rhenish wine
Paint the world a hue divine,
When with many a draught full good,
Healths we pledge to Robin Hood,
Till the wood-smoke climbing high,
Meet the first lark in the sky,
And Aurora shining, shows
Cynthia's pale cheek dyed with rose.
So of yore in woods unshorn,
Bowmen quaff'd the merry horn,
When the fauns with shaggy hock,
Crush'd the grape in troughs of rock,
Chanting o'er the crimson waves,
Alternating Bacchic staves.
Damsel, thus we frolic here,
In the greenwood, all the year.
Who would house with sheep or kine,

That might rove the woods divine:
Couch where violets peep through grass?
Be the Woodman's, bonny lass!

KENNETH HARE.

The Herdman Triumphs Over the Woodmen

DRAW nigh, ye lusty woodmen,
And war with me in rhyme,
But they who strive with herdmen
Must quit the couch betime!
Though Tithon was a herdman,
The Goddess of the Light
Was ravished with his beauty,
And lived but in his sight!

She left her chariot idle,
With him to hug and toy,
A herdman, a herdman,
O he was all her joy!

And what of your Diana,
Ye woodmen love so well?
She never loved a woodman,
For aught that I hear tell.
Endymion was a herdman,
And eke a herdman's son,
Your lady fell a-longing,
With gazing him upon!

For him she left her hunting,
And all her starry state,
A herdman, a herdman,
Shall with a goddess mate!

And Ganymede, a herdman,
  Was of his herd depriven
To be that only butler
  Who draws the wine in Heaven.
From Jove there came an eagle,
  Which bore him through the air,
And now he fills their glasses,
  And nobly, I dare swear!

They never sought a woodman,
  For woodmen they did scorn,
A herdman, a herdman,
  Is still to honour born!

KENNETH HARE.

Parliamentary Reform—The Urgent Need

By the Earl of Cottenham

Part I.—An Altered Personnel.

AMONGST many major problems of the swiftly changing times in which we live—those of unsuitable housing, inadequacy of employment, instability of currency, sane and insane degrees of armament or disarmament, alteration of dominion and foreign policies, partial ineptitude on the part of the Church, lack of proportion in many views of domestic politics, road accidents, divorce, birth control and kindred matters of public moment—none, if calm sense and vision characterizes its solution, is more pregnant with immediate possibilities for far-reaching good throughout our Empire and the world at large than reform of the House of Lords. I say this advisedly, though I am well aware that what may be taken for over-statement is weakening to any case presented. But here is no over-statement. Here is fact.

Our Empire directs and guards a quarter of the earth: in the hearts and minds of men and women of goodwill within its bounds, it stands trustee to God for Peace; and for the advancement and welfare of millions of human beings inhabiting a big section of one world in space. All the more serious, therefore, is our present tendency to hold this heritage too cheaply, and so run the risk of letting it slip, bit by bit, into the hands of unsuitable men—well-intentioned no doubt, but of distinctly limited outlook. Should it not rather be regarded by high and low, rich and poor, white and coloured citizens alike, whose intelligence is worthy of their citizenship, as a corporate work, far transcending in importance the lesser and often fleeting, imaginary claims of one section, one district or one political party?

Unless they are wilfully blind to reason, I feel that the aim which thoughtful men and women foster in the sanctuary of their minds can be no other than this.

The Dominions govern themselves, and rightly so. Other units of the Empire still know our guiding hand; and the latter should continue to have the safeguard of an impartial justice until, with the march of time and learning, they are strong enough, as individual states, to withstand the disruptive influence of foolish elements within their borders. No government in retrospect can be held entirely guiltless of mistakes; but it may truthfully be claimed that in the last hundred years and more the manifold blessings of enlightenment, of useful employment, of law and order, of medical science, of justice and, above all, of the thought of God, have been more widely and more conscientiously distributed in distant lands by the British than by any other nation.

Although until now they may have bewitched themselves into thinking of such achievements only in terms of Conservative soundness, Liberal enterprise, or Labour idealism, if they will regard them rather as products of devoted work on the part of able men and women, fellow citizens of their own in the great brotherhood of the British Empire, what a sense of thankfulness, of pride, and of RESPONSIBILITY should be instilled in all who can learn to think broadmindedly!

It is from the Houses of Parliament at Westminster, as from a radio station, that the advantages attendant upon the growth of knowledge and the broadening of philosophy have emanated on the wavelength of adaptation most suited to each. Under their influence Colonies have grown into great Dominions or influential States, whilst other portions of the Empire are still evolving from primary stages. All, however, look back to Britain; the Self-governing Dominions now with greater understanding, feeling the burdens of responsibility; the others, with an instinctive trust, though some unruly sections may chafe like impatient children against a kindly authority.

But impatient or not, all of them rally round the Motherland in times of crisis—as we proudly remember.

There has been no finer, no more gallant lesson in loyalty than this. It is the most splendid example that the world has seen. Should we not, therefore, here in the British Isles, strive to keep our legislative machinery so tuned to cope with modern developments, and their attendant dangers and necessities, that none of our family Overseas may have cause to feel either anxiety or shame as to our methods of dealing with world-wide problems in statesmanship.

The House of Lords to-day is an anachronism. Its constitution cannot be defended on grounds of reason, for it is completely illogical. That it has worked within its limitations despite this drawback does not make it any the less a weakness in our Parliamentary system. Nimble, if dishonest, minds can trump up numerous plausible charges against it other than, perhaps, the most genuine one, namely, that although many peers enjoy huge territorial rights, their House has consistently failed to make any notable contribution towards the solution of the urgent national problem of agriculture. There have been, of course, other failures on the part of the House of Lords to take its full share of working the constitutional machine, but its neglect of agricultural well-being is as remarkable as the constitution of the House itself.

The average attendance at the House of Lords is barely a twentieth of its membership. Most members hold the right to sit and vote because their fathers sat and voted. I can think of no more dubious justification for assuming that they are fit to serve the State in such a capacity. A number of our House, certainly, are not so fitted, either by inclination or mental equipment. Still, it may be said for the hereditary principle that generations of cultured thought have bred in many instances a selfless tradition of public service, keen and tempered. This is a known and highly valued feature of our public life, and, because of it, many Peers who now

sit at Westminster would be as well qualified as any living men to sit in a reconstituted House of Lords. But they should be there for the great merit that is in them, not for the qualification that they are their fathers' sons. A noble lineage may have curious twists in it; a noble mind has none: after a time the influence of the castle or the cottage means nothing beside the service to humanity as exemplified in duty to the State. It is Peers by mind and outlook that the Empire needs at Westminster, not Peers simply by circumstance of birth.

However, circumstances of a kind must be considered—those of finance. Some minds that ought to be in constant service in the Upper House can never be there as things are at present. Their owners cannot afford to give the time. Not all hereditary Peers are so blessed with this world's possessions that they do not have to work for their living. That they do have to work in this way is one reason seldom advanced, however, for the poor attendance which obtains at present. Even if we admit that many of those who for this reason do not now attend, would by no means be gifted enough to serve in a reconstituted House, yet I can with feeling plead even on their behalf that were they not daily engaged in paid occupations to support their families, they would—albeit with misgiving and possibly with real dislike—take up as best they could the responsibilities of being a Peer of Parliament which, willy-nilly, rest at present upon their reluctant shoulders.

It is plain that members of a reformed House of Lords must be paid in accordance with the office which they would hold. Those with sufficient wealth need not accept emolument (somewhat surprisingly there are still some public-spirited men in public life, for the fruits are mostly insincere adulation or undeserved abuse), but those not wealthy enough to serve for nothing should be freed from the carking care that besets even the noblest mind and hampers it. A noble mind is not financially ambitious, otherwise our Judges' bench, for instance, would never

fill—such is the sacrifice those splendid persons make. Not that I visualize a Judge's salary for Peers, I merely instance the type of character required! For it is character, surely, that makes a mind sift its knowledge; it is character that makes a mind judge all points of view impartially, seeing gold for gold, dross for dross, oblivious to the quarter whence either comes but concerned solely with the amalgam of wise and human statecraft; it is character that we of the Empire look for in our leaders.

Are we quite sure that a large enough proportion of such character finds its way into Parliamentary life at present? I am personally far from satisfied of it. Certainly, if the hereditary right to "sit" must pass from the House of Lords—and I am convinced that it should—then we must see to it that our new Peers, from whatever sound sources we draw them, are men of wide knowledge and broad, human sympathies, but in whom the spirit of Party *qua* Party politics is dead.

We want adequate representation in the "Lords" of all types, all industries, all interests, Imperial and domestic; but in fair proportion—which it cannot be said appertains at present—and by the best types of men available. In these days of rapid material development and accelerated human experience, the crusted intolerant Tory, the rabid Liberal, the sneering and openly subversive Labour Peer are out of place in the House of Lords, which should be a Senate of wise men, and should certainly not include pernickety partisans or over-enthusiastic cranks. Alas, the wise element in the Upper House, as it is now constituted, can make comparatively little showing against the mass of deadwood which by inactive bulk alone looms large in the public consciousness.

In the House of Commons it must needs be a different matter. There the fiercest, often unwise, battles of words must still be fought before the project, whatever it may be, proceeds to face the sympathetic but non-partisan judgment of a reconstituted House of Lords. Yet in the

" Commons," too, at least some change is needed; a change of outlook here, a change of personnel there. If, in future years, a " National " government is to continue (and I pray that this may be so) let us at any rate face the truth with regard to it, and with regard to its leaders. If the " National " government is really the Conservative Party, with temporary adjuncts, let the fact be clearly understood. If, on the other hand, the Conservative Party has abandoned some of its " die-hard " principles ostensibly for ever, and become the National Party, and been joined by eminent leaders of other parties—also ostensibly for ever—then let that be known. The information will do nothing but good, and put a stop to idle tongues.

Afterwards, let us hear no more of Conservative-Socialist leaders, or of die-hard-Liberals, or Labour-Aristocrats: all such are merely distastefully farcical masks for men whose own actions more truthfully identify them. Surely to be simply a " National " man, working primarily for the nation as an Empire unit, is something to be proud of rather than to hide, whether one's knowledge and inclination is of the farming, mining, engineering, professional, artistic or administrative classes!

I have often wondered how even the least educated sections of the community can be deceived for a moment into sending to Parliament some of the members whom they select to represent them. If it can be said of the " Lords " that many of them are careless, inept, irresponsible or worse, it may with equal truth be contended that some Members of the " Commons " appear to be ill-mannered, untidy, ignorant, and caterwauling mountebanks. There are splendid men in both Houses and in all Parties—upright, capable and sincere, striving only to dovetail the interests of those they represent with the more important interests of the Nation as a whole; but as long as we persist in broadcasting votes to inexperienced boys and girls, susceptible to the influence of any self-seeking or treasonably inclined tub-thumper, so long

will the "Commons" be burdened with a proportion of incompetent undesirables.

It is true of all parties that some, at any rate, of their candidates might be better; but with regard to the Labour Party, I feel that, with certain notable exceptions, we have not begun to see the best minds it can give us. I know from personal experience, from working alongside them, that minds as noble as any in England are to be found amongst those masses whose origins and interests are mainly "labouring" ones. We want them —we want them in the House of Commons, we want the best of them in a reconstituted House of Lords. I do appeal to the saner elements of the Labour Party Executive to seek out from their ranks men and women with such qualities, and persuade them to come forward at the next election; to make them put on one side their modesty and their instinctive dislike of the less admirable features of public life and, in the interests of the nation and of their own folk, to oust as many as possible of the bigoted windbags who now pretend to represent a vast crowd of sane and God-loving working people.

We in Britain have great work that we ought to do in the not distant future, that of curtailing the vote, probably to disenfranchise all persons below the age of twenty-five; that of knocking some sense of workaday reality into the Church, which is gradually stifling a faith as lively and refreshing as a mountain breeze under a moth-eaten blanket of mediæval ritual, having no sensible meaning to a modern brain; that of polishing up the "Commons" and reforming the "Lords." Of all these tasks the last is the most important, for the Upper House should have the final say in all reforms that are to be accomplished. That House should be representative of all parties, and yet remain non-party; of all classes, and yet be non-class; it should consist of the wise men, the Lords of mind and outlook, defenders —for the King—of the truly simple faith, who can, if necessary, delay any proposed legislation long enough for

the nation fully to understand their trusted warning in respect of it. "Here in plain language is the sweeping change proposed: it will have this effect and that. We, representing all, will not let it happen until the nation has had further time to think, and the voices of the Dominions have been heard."

No graver responsibility rests upon the present "National" Government than that of leaving behind it the best possible legislative machinery. Only crass self-deception can make anybody think we have it now. Parliamentary reform is inevitable, and will take place before our history is much older. Like the Mussolini, Kemal and Hitler régimes, and the Spanish revolution, or women's suffrage and daylight-saving here at home, this switch over—though heralded for a long time by some who watch—might actually become *fait accompli* almost overnight. This would be tragic were it to happen. A change so fundamental, so all-important to each one of us in Britain, indeed to everyone who serves the Empire, needs to be planned at leisure, and by those most capable of planning. It must not be brought about in haste by demagogues put temporarily in power by waves of inexperienced feather-headed voters, and incapable of leading even their supporters.

Our King spoke to us all last Christmas Day; calm, wise words that reached the very outposts of the Empire. If we could canvass our fellow-subjects who heard him, I believe that all reasonable thinking men and women amongst them would urge us to reform our Parliament without delay and to bring to the task those qualities of "unshakable sanity, invincible patience, and tireless goodwill" which His Majesty so fittingly commended.

A reformed Upper House probably need not exceed a membership of three hundred. It should be composed of the outstanding leaders of sane thought throughout the counties and boroughs of the whole country; this would bring back the ablest and most public-spirited of the existing Peers, and provide an opportunity for new

Peers whose knowledge and understanding would be such that labour interests would for the first time in our history be adequately represented in the "Lords"—adequately in the numerical sense, but also disinterestedly, calmly and with "National" vision. We want also wise men of the law, of the army, of the navy, of the air force, of land transport, of shipping, of civil flying, of finance, of industry, of science, of medicine, of education. Here again some of the existing peers would obviously return; some, as obviously, would not. It is big, open minds we want, not one-track brains. Personally I am not in favour of Bishops in the Upper House. I feel the Church has no part in National legislation; it should concentrate on its own affairs which sorely need revision, paying more attention to true spirituality than to abstruse theology, and none to politics. In this essentially Christian country a thoroughly reformed Parliament could be trusted to legislate sensibly and sympathetically for the Church, and with more knowledge of worldly realities than some Bishops seem to think it fitting to display in open debate. If one or two Lords Spiritual had to be included in the Upper House it could only be for that most deceptive of reasons—the sentimental, for their failure to put their own affairs in order precludes the hope of any useful contribution to national affairs. And it might be difficult to arrange for them to be of the braver-thinking type, or to ensure that they would exhibit anything like a united front upon the universal subject which sometimes is made to masquerade as their monopoly.

Apart, then, from the Bishops, an Upper House constituted as I have suggested, with the Peers of the blood royal, should make as sound, equitable and powerful a "senate" as any hitherto known in history. But, I repeat, they must be the best, chosen by the strictly limited votes of those bodies and individuals generally recognized to be most capable of choosing and not voted for by the scatter-brained for all kinds of extraneous

reasons. There must be no more buying of Peerages with gifts to hospitals and suchlike. To give generously, even when done with a personal object, remains to some extent generous; but it is no qualification for a seat in the House of Lords. Such gifts should still be recognized with honour, but not with a Peerage. No first-rate bartering mind with a third-rate outlook on life should be able to buy its way into the highest councils of the Empire. In England the vast majority of folk, labouring manually or administratively, are no bad judges of character when they set their minds to it. I urge them for the good of the Empire not to tolerate the continued existence of the House of Lords in its present form. Let them use their local political associations at once to give the National Government an unmistakable mandate to change the present House for one better constituted.

In the "Commons," too, we need a stricter system of selection. We want to rid ourselves of the time-servers, the opportunists, and the destructionists. There must be many Conservative constituencies that feel they have been deceived into backing a candidate who, after election, seems to pay surprisingly little attention to National and Imperial needs. They might not be so surprised if they knew that his adoption had been urged upon them mainly because he was a personable young man, and (here is the point) able to pay his election expenses; and, also that his own advancement in politics—a consideration that I admit does not weigh, thank goodness, with every member—would depend upon his adoption of the party-machine views even if they clashed at times with their own, which, as they fondly think, he is morally bound to represent.

Likewise, there must be many Labour constituencies which feel that they, too, have been deceived into backing candidates who turn out to be destructive, ranting fanatics, likely to urge even practical reforms in so bigoted a way as seriously to prejudice them, and wasting untold time and energy on madcap impossibilities. Their

plausible mob oratory got the upper hand of the electors' better judgment. Now the electors are sorry, realizing that from amongst themselves they could have put up a dozen better men; with no flowery gift of the gab, but honest, sensible, humane patriots. Such groups also need the machinery to put in train a swift and practical protest.

To say nowadays that a man is an " astute politician " is to employ a term of reproach. English men and women have no use for intriguing revolutionaries or sycophantic careerists. They need Members holding various shades of opinion conforming more or less to their own, but of stalwart, straightforward character. There is too much to-day of the cry, " Oh, we must find a seat for ' X.' " " X," of course, is an astute politician, a " useful " man in the House, who will do what he is told, and seldom be so foolish as to use the brains his Maker gave him to think solely for his country and his constituents. Why do we tolerate politicians like " X? " Intrigue, back-scratching, and self-seeking are their methods of advancement. If a man fails to get returned to Parliament by a constituency where he is known, where he lives, in which he is interested, it is odds on that he will fail to represent any other constituency with the same genuine enthusiasm and attention to detail. Some men do it. But a study of Parliamentary history reveals the fact that Parliament would more frequently have lost less by their absence than it has gained by their presence. It is not sheer intellectual power that is needed in the " Commons," it is intelligence—a different thing: it is local or special knowledge; it is commonsense; and, above all, as in the " Lords," it is character.

Only the British public, with its great resonant voice, can insist on men of character replacing the many mediocrities now at Westminster.

Clisson and Eugénie

*A Short Story by Napoleon Bonaparte**

With an Introductory Note by SIMON ASKENAZY, both translated by HUGH BARNES.

Clisson and Eugénie is a little autobiographical novel written by Napoleon as a young man. It was founded on his broken engagement with Eugénie-Desirée Clary, the future Queen of Sweden.

The Clarys were an aristocratic family at Marseilles. After the revolution, they became involved in reactionary activities that finally compromised them all, including the father, François Clary, and the three sons, Nicolas, the protector of the refractory Carmelite priests, and Etienne and Justin, both active members of anti-revolutionary societies. The two sons-in-law, d'Anthoine and Blait de Villeneufve, were also determined royalists.

In August 1793 *the town was captured by the troops of the* Convention, *and the subsequent Reign of Terror filled all the prisons. The Clary family suffered severely; the sons-in-law sought safety abroad, the sons were arrested, the younger son, Justin, committed suicide, the old father died of grief and the mother and the daughters were left destitute.*

Napoleon had just escaped from Corsica and received temporary employment with the batteries on the coast. He had no settled post and went from Nice to Avignon, from Lyons to Marseilles. It was then that the troubles there urged him to write the famous Souper de Beaucaire. *He makes the chief character give up a hopeless struggle against the nation and say "Marseilles will always be the centre of gravity of liberty and only a few leaves will have to be torn from its history."*

When the town was captured, his elder brother, Joseph Bonaparte, arrived from Paris with the representatives of the Convention, *Robespierre the younger, Saliceti and Albitte. When he was leaving Albitte's office one evening, he found a young girl asleep outside. It was Desirée Clary waiting for news of one of her brothers in prison. Joseph Bonaparte took her back to her home and soon became the friend and protector of the family. He finally asked for the hand of one of the daughters. At that time the two unmarried daughters, both future queens, were each to inherit about a million francs from their father. The elder, Marie-Julie, was twenty-two years old, an ugly, unhealthy, insignificant, pious and charitable woman. The younger, Eugénie-Desirée, was sixteen and a true little* Provençale, *with a dark complexion, black hair, irregular features, full lips and soft brown eyes. She had rather childish manners, but she was pretty, full of high spirits, capricious and obstinate, for she*

* *Clisson and Eugénie has never been translated before. Professor Askenazy's version was recently published in the French Review "Hippocrate," before which it had only once been published in the monumental work—"Les Manuscrits de Napoléon en Pologne." Professor Askenazy is a most distinguished Polish historian, whose studies on the Napoleonic period have received universal recognition.*

was the spoilt child of the family. It was she who first fell in love with handsome Joseph Bonaparte. But the family wanted the elder sister to marry first, so he became engaged to her.

In the beginning of 1794 *Napoleon made Marseilles his headquarters and his brother introduced him to the Clary family. They received him with all the respect demanded by his increasing fame. The young hero of Toulon was gloomy and reserved, but he was quick to respond to agreeable female society and made a strong impression on Desirée's vivid imagination. He was a passionate reader of the* Nouvelle Héloïse, *the* Confessions, Werther *and the songs of* Ossian. *He had already written some melancholy essays on love, "that fatal passion, that emotion into which the lonely man plunges to feel his own powerlessness and immortality." He had not had much experience, however, and was not very sure of himself, but Eugénie's ingenuous charm soon fascinated him. In that brief spring in Provence he thus became involved in a passionate yet chaste love affair with the encouragement of the Clary family, who imagined the young general's rapid promotion a certainty.*

Napoleon, however, was in no hurry. With his ambition stimulated by success, his attention was becoming more and more concentrated on the Italian army. He suggested an attack on the enemy's left wing and took part in it himself, sending strongly-worded despatches to the authorities in Paris by means of Augustin Robespierre. He counted on the possibility of Maximilien Robespierre becoming dictator and hoped that he would then obtain command of the army in Paris and perhaps, finally, what he most desired, the command of the Italian army.

The idyll with the little provincial of Marseilles paled in contrast with these grandiose dreams. Joseph, however, was prudent enough to ensure his matrimonial plans and at the beginning of August succeeded in marrying Julie Clary. Immediately afterwards the news of the death of Robespierre came from Paris, and Napoleon's career seemed at an end. He managed to escape with his life, but the subsequent months at Toulon were a difficult time for him. In the following April Napoleon returned to Marseilles, but immediately received orders to take command of the artillery in Paris, where fresh riots had broken out, and it seemed as if the Government would not be strong enough to resist. Napoleon, however, thought it might give him a new chance, but before leaving for an uncertain future, he resolved to put his sentimental affairs in order. He succeeded in obtaining an interview with Eugénie, and they swore eternal love, arranging matters between themselves without any formal engagement, for the Clary family were too preoccupied with the political crisis. It was decided, however, that Napoleon was to return in the autumn and that they were to marry and settle down in Provence.

In the beginning of May 1795 *Napoleon left for Paris. Throughout the journey he received passionate letters from Eugénie. He travelled slowly, for he was anxiously watching the course of ev ..in Paris.*

Suddenly, at Châtillon-sur-Seine, he received his discharge and his career again seemed at an end. He pretended to be ill, begged for delay and tried to join the military section of the Committee of Public Safety. His modest resources were soon exhausted, for the army paid him in paper money that had now become useless. Eugénie imagined him in the social whirlpool of Paris and continued sending him simple and affectionate letters until the middle of June. "I hope that the riotous pleasures of Paris have not made you forget peaceful Marseilles," she wrote, "and that your walks in the Bois de Boulogne with Madame T—— have not obliterated your memory of those beside the river with your good little Eugénie. Write to me as soon as possible to reassure me about your health which was not good when you left. O dear friend, take care of yourself for the sake of your Eugénie, who could not live without you."

Her love gave him some comfort, but he felt quite unable to return with empty hands. He therefore suggested that she should come to Paris with her mother and that they should make it their definite home. But rumours of his disappointments in Paris had reached the Clary family and they were terrified by his request. When fresh royalist riots broke out at Marseilles in June, the practical Joseph thought it wiser to retire to Genoa with his wife, mother-in-law, and Eugénie, who then ceased to write to her fiancé. Napoleon, deeply hurt, became silent also.

He wrote, however, to Joseph, who in reality disapproved of the prospective marriage, and thus delayed replying to Napoleon's letters. But Napoleon wrote all the more frequently, only referring indirectly to his grief and describing in detail the splendours of Parisian life and all the friends he was making. His letters were really intended for Eugénie, rather than for his brother, and the following fragments reveal his state of mind:—

"Désirée asked me for my portrait; I am going to have it painted. If she still wants it, will you give it to her, but otherwise, keep it for yourself . . . Life is a sweet dream that fades away. . . . The way to Genoa must be across the river of Lethe, for Désirée has ceased to write to me. . . . Luxury, pleasure and the arts are reviving here in an astonishing way. There are innumerable libraries and lectures on history, chemistry, botany, astronomy, etc. Paris provides everything for a pleasant and amusing life. Women are everywhere, in the theatres, boulevards and libraries. You even see pretty girls in the studies of professors. They seem capable here, of all places on earth, of taking the upper hand. The men are quite mad about them. They think of nothing else and only live for them and because of them. A woman wants six months in Paris to make her realize her own importance and the extent of her kingdom. . . . Still no letter from you, and it is more than a month since you left (Marseilles). I have had no letter from Désirée since she arrived at Genoa. I am impatiently waiting for your letters and some news of what is happening. . . . I think you intentionally refuse

to speak of Désirée; I do not know if she is still alive. . . . I hear rumours that you are having a good time. My congratulations! I would not have thought Genoa so gay. Everyone is fairly well here and much enjoying himself. As for me, I am satisfied; all I lack is a battle in which to fight. The warrior must win his laurels or die on the field of glory. . . . You cleverly never tell me anything. Is it lack of tact or interest on your part? I feel little attachment for life and regard it without much affection. I am always feeling in my soul as one does on the eve of a battle. I feel convinced that since death puts an end to everything, it is madness to make a fuss. If this continues, I shall end by not getting out of the way when a carriage approaches. . . . I continue worrying the Committee of Public Safety; I await your letters to make up my mind. If I remain here, I might well be seized with the madness of marrying. I should like you to say something to this effect in the right quarter. . . . Let me know the result? . . I am mad enough to want a home. . . . my affair with Eugénie must either come to a satisfactory conclusion or be broken off. I impatiently await your reply."

On September 7th he wrote for the last time to his sister-in-law, Julie, asking for a definite decision from Eugénie, who still remained silent. Overwhelmed by misfortune and misery, hurt, moreover, by a disappointment that his pride found hard to bear, he really imagined that this young, insignificant girl represented the love and happiness which seemed to be escaping him. In the midst of this paroxysm of grief and discouragement he wrote the love story of Clisson and Eugénie.

He probably outlined and corrected the story between the middle of August and the middle of September 1795. *This is borne out by its resemblance to his own life. It even contains some phrases that occur in his own letters at that time. It reveals the martial accents of the born leader in the midst of literary clichés borrowed from the misanthropic effusions of Rousseau, the amorous ecstasies of Saint-Preux and the romanticism of Ossian. The choice of the historic name of Clisson de Josselin, a rough warrior of the fourteenth century, has an added significance. Before becoming England's enemy, this obstinate Breton had helped the English to defeat the French troops, and Napoleon, too, had longed for England's help against the French in his early enthusiasm for struggling Corsica. A descendant of this great family, François de Sucy de Clisson, had been his intimate friend in the garrison at Valence and had doubtless told him many stories about his famous ancestor.*

After the urgent letters in the beginning of September, he had ceased to allude to his marriage. Eugénie's long silence had deprived him of all hope, even before he received the definite reply which, as he had foreseen, was in the negative. Eugénie had submitted to her family's advice, and now broke with Napoleon, still using her sister as an intermediary. But events were moving more rapidly in Paris than in Genoa and the solution arrived in the amazing promotion of the Man of Vendémiaire.

He immediately shook off his obsession. The rifle shots were still sounding in the streets in the night of October 5th, 1795, when he proudly wrote to Genoa at two o'clock in the morning: "Happiness has come to me. . . . My love to Eugénie. . . ." The giddy course of events had already clouded her image for him. He was in the saddle, the saviour of the government, the general of a division, the commander of the Army of the Interior, the obvious leader of the Italian Army and one of the most important people in Paris and in France. At the same time he fell into the clever hands of Joséphine de Beauharnais, who married him in March 1796 on the eve of his departure for Italy.

Eugénie had remained silent for a year but now she uttered a cry of distress. She wrote a letter that was the unconscious counterpart of Clisson, *a plaintive romantic letter full of far too many obvious mistakes ever to have been sent. In one breath she reproached him for his inconstancy, gave way to despair on account of his marriage, prayed for death and swore always to love her faithless Napoleon and never to give her hand to another.*

As for Napoleon, he bore her no ill-will. He may even have felt indebted to her for having freed him at the propitious moment. His fate, however, might well have been different if her child had been his instead of Bernadotte's, for then there would have been a twenty-year-old successor in the crisis of 1815.

Napoleon continued to show Eugénie much favour. He approved of her engagement to the young General Duphot, who was assassinated in December 1797 on the very eve of the marriage during a revolt at Rome. She soon found consolation, however, in the shape of Joseph Bonaparte's handsome and ambitious friend, General Bernadotte, who was already launched on a brilliant career. In August 1789 she married him, frankly confessing afterwards that she had consented to do so as soon as she knew for certain that he was a man capable of vying with Napoleon. He seemed to her a means of revenge on her lost Clisson.

She remained in Paris throughout the Hundred Days and the Restoration and seemed quite indifferent to Napoleon's fall and long agony at Saint-Helena. Just before his death, the Emperor made his only harsh remark about her which, showed, nevertheless that he had summed her up. While he was dying in exile, Eugénie, now old and faded, embarked on a mad passion for an austere president of the ministerial council, the Duc de Richelieu, whom she had pursued for many years with an obstinate and extravagant affection. It was only after his death in 1823 that she decided to leave Paris and go to Sweden. With some difficulty she had herself crowned there in 1829. In 1844 her husband died, and in 1859 she lost her much-loved son, Oscar. With the Second Empire, she saw the shadow of the great revenant *arise, and anxiously tried to justify herself to Napoleon III in incoherent and pitiable confidences. In 1860 she died at the age of eighty, having survived Napoleon by forty years. This was the*

grim epilogue in real life to the romantic love story of Clisson and Eugénie.

The manuscript seems to have been written in a state of unusual excitement, frenzied haste and passion, to judge from the extreme illegibility of the writing. But it is, possible, nevertheless to follow the interesting course of the style and its passage from derivative, flamboyant romance to extreme and significant simplicity.

CLISSON was born for war. While still a child, he read the lives of great captains. He studied the principles of military art (at the time when those of his age were at school and pursuing girls). As soon as he was old enough to bear arms, he marked each step by brilliant deeds. In spite of his youth, he reached the highest rank in the army. Good fortune constantly aided his genius. His victories succeeded one another and his name was known to everyone like that of one of his beloved warriors.*

His soul was nevertheless unsatisfied.

The suffering which the malice of envy made him endure, tore his very soul. Clisson, like all men, was born for happiness and as yet he had only achieved glory.

(He had scorned love. But he knew Eugénie.)

The war ceased for a moment and he knew Eugénie.

Eugénie was sixteen years old, (she was gentle, good and full of life) with pretty eyes and an ordinary figure.

* *First Version.*—Clisson was born with a decided inclination for war. From the most tender age at the sight of a helmet, a sword or a drum, he betrayed his natural desire (the innate tendency that promised great success) that had destined him from youth to reach the highest rank in the army. (He studied deeply the principles of the art of war at an age when the ordinary person is only occupied with . . . .) Absorbed by glory, for a long time he scorned all other passion (he scorned love, he despised fortune . . .). Nevertheless, his heart, for long dumb and prey to the fires of war, at last felt other needs. He . . .

Second Version.—Clisson was born with a decided inclination for war.

He read the lives of great men at the age when most people are reading fairy stories.

He studied military art at the time when those of his age were at school. (He rapidly rose in the ranks, marking each step by brilliant deeds.) While still a youth, he reached the highest rank in the army.

N.B.—In every case, the text represents the final version.

Without being ugly, she was not beautiful—but kindness, sweetness and great tenderness were essentially hers. Clisson had scorned women and love but he felt the growing reaction of his emotions and sweetness found no resistance. Clisson frightened Eugénie. (The stern Clisson was in love.) Clisson's heart, accustomed to victories and great enterprises, soon surrendered his peculiarly strong and inflexible character to passion. The good Eugénie realised that it was her fate* to link herself to the destiny of this great man and promised him eternal love. Clisson promised it also.

Envy! Calumny! They are the lowest passions that assail great reputations at their birth. They destroy many useful men and stifle so much genius.† Power, coolness, courage and strength only increased the number of his enemies and offended people who, because of their position, should have influenced public opinion in his favour. They called his grandeur of soul pride and reproached him for his strength. Disgusted with triumphs that increased his enemies without giving him any friends, Clisson felt the need of withdrawing into himself and, for the first time (in his life), he examined his life, tastes and position. Like all men, he wanted happiness and as yet had only found glory. (He went to stay for a month in the country near Lyon with one of his acquaintances. Occupied since his childhood with war, he had been carried away by the whirlpool of events and had always been dominated by his own inclinations. His soul had been ravaged and absorbed by constant occupation and was still quite unaware of the impression of other passions and moral ideas.)

Clisson carried in his heart the desire for happiness and had not yet abandoned all the illusions of glory. He seldom remained in the house. His friend received many guests and much company and Clisson could not

* "Yielded to her fate."

† The same idea is to be found in Napoleon's letter to Sucy on August 17, 1795: "Proper pride in having been useful and deserved the esteem of a few, gives a genius the honour due to him."

accustom himself to petty formalities. His fiery imagination and flaming heart, his strict logic and cold spirit were merely wearied by the advances of coquettes, the games of gallantry, the logic of idlers and the morals of fools. He did not understand the intrigues and paid no attention to the witty remarks. His life was wild and his faculties were absorbed by one thought which he could neither define nor comprehend but which entirely dominated his soul. Accustomed to fatigue, he had need of action and plenty of exercise.

His most pleasant occupation was to wander in the woods. There he felt at peace, braved malice and rose above the follies and baseness of humanity.

Sometimes on the banks silvered by the star of love, he gave way to the desires and tremors of his heart. He could not tear himself away from the melancholy and sweet spectacle of the night in the light of the moon. He remained there until it disappeared and the gloom dispersed his reverie. Sadder and more disturbed, he went in search of the repose he needed.

Reverie replaced reflection. He perceived with a pleasure unknown until then the spectacle of the variety of nature, the birth and end of day, the song of birds, the murmur of water, the stretches of fields. (He passed whole hours in meditation in the depths of the woods and in the evening remained there until midnight, dreaming by the light of the silver star of love. He often went to the waters of Alles at an hour's distance from Champfert. These waters were very fresh at a particular time, between four and six in the morning.)

This withdrawal into himself made him realise that there were other emotions besides that of war, other inclinations besides that of destruction. The talent for feeding men, elevating them, making them happy, is as good as that of destroying them.

He wanted to collect his thoughts, to arrange this crowd of ideas that for many days had been besieging his soul. He restrained his energies (for some months)

and went to Champfert, near Lyon,* to ask hospitality of a gentleman who was his friend there.

This country, one of the most beautiful places near this great town, contained everything that art and nature could produce.

Clisson saw with surprise the enchanting spectacle of the birth and end of day (of that of night), of the course of the star of night silvering the groves and fields. The varying lights and views, the song of birds, the murmur of waters—all made a new and hitherto unknown impression on his heart. (Everything was new for Clisson.) He yet saw what he had seen a thousand times without (reflection), without feeling anything, without astonishment. Wretched man, when you . . . .† (of nature's cycle) raised above your fellows (suffering pursues you) . . . your soul, prey to illusion, excitement and apprehension, is dumb to the beauties and insensible to the pleasures of nature.

Naturally sceptical, Clisson became melancholy. His reflections gave way to dreams. He had nothing to plan, fear or hope. This state of peace, so new for his lofty spirit, would have imperceptibly led him to complete passivity in a short time.

From dawn he wandered in the fields, moved by his usual thoughts.

He often went to the baths of Alles that were a league away from where he was staying. He spent whole mornings there watching the people, wandering in the forest or reading some good author.

A few people happened to be there one day and he met two pretty girls who seemed to be greatly enjoying their walk. They had just returned alone with the thoughtlessness and gaiety of sixteen years. Amélie had a beautiful figure, fine eyes, a beautiful complexion, beautiful hair, and was seventeen. Eugénie, a year younger (an ordinary figure and complexion).

* As a young man, Napoleon had spent some time at Lyon in August, 1786, that had left him with very pleasant memories.

† Some words are here illegible in the manuscript.

When Amélie looked at you, she seemed to say: You love me but you are not the only one and I have many other admirers; realise, therefore, that you can only please me by flattering me.* I appreciate compliments and love exaggeration.

Eugénie never looked straight at a man. She smiled sweetly and revealed the most beautiful teeth in the world. If you gave her your hand, she held it timidly and soon withdrew hers. One would say that she did not like showing her very pretty hands whose blue veins were set off by the whiteness of her skin.

Amélie was like a fragment of French music that one hears with pleasure because one knows the different tunes that please everyone since they know them by heart.

Eugénie was like the song of the nightingale or a fragment of Paesiello that only pleases sensitive souls, whose melody transports and arouses souls made to feel it strongly, while it seems ordinary to most people.

Amélie conquered the majority of young men, she commanded love.

But Eugénie could only please the (sensitive) ardent man who does not love from inclination or gallantry, but with the passion of a strong emotion.

The former won love because of her beauty. Eugénie had to kindle in the heart of one man a strong passion worthy of heroes.†

She never saw her children without strong emotion. " O Clisson," she said to him one day, holding Sophie in her arms, " what a dreadful future, fate has in store for us all! But if your heart ceases to be faithful to me, take my life! " Clisson, whom love, nature and regard irrevocably linked to Eugénie, was moved by her trouble and calmed her anxiety. " Eugénie," he always replied to her, " the day I linked your destiny to mine, I swore to protect your life and support your weakness. Your husband will never cease being your lover. He will never

* " Paying court to me."

† There is an obvious gap in the story at this point, which seems to suggest that the author destroyed part of the manuscript.

change. He will always live for you, he will never survive your loss."

(It was June. The stifling heat of daytime increased the dazzling beauty of the nights. . . . .)

The heat was excessive. A terrible storm covered the horizon. Rain, thunder and lightning obscured and illuminated the air. Eugénie burst into tears. . . . She (clasped) clung closely to her husband. Sophie began to cry at her mother's grief and hid in her skirts, clasping her knees with her childish hands. " Clisson, your future is uncertain and my soul is filled with apprehensions that seem only too certain to me. If you must cease loving me, take the life of your Eugénie with this hand that formerly caressed her."

Clisson, whom regard, love and nature irrevocably linked to Eugénie, (was sorry for the troubles of his beloved) did all he could to revive her courage and happiness. He took Sophie in his arms. " My Eugénie, on our Sophie's life I swear to you eternal love. But cease distressing me; must you foresee danger when my heart is at peace? " They prolonged their conversation far into the night and darkness. They went to sleep very late. They had hardly fallen asleep when Clisson was awoken by the sound of approaching horses and voices. He got up and saw one of his old messengers, who brought him a letter from the government. It was an order to leave within twenty-four hours for Paris, where he was to undertake an important mission which they wished to entrust to him on account of his talents.

Poor Eugénie, while you sleep, they are taking your lover away from you ! " Ah ! " she cried, " the terrible mystery is now explained, the misfortune realized ! O Clisson, you abandon me ! You see now the mad game of men, events and fortune ! Farewell ! My happiness ! Farewell, happy days, poor and so brief, now you are useless ! " She was pale, weak and lifeless. Clisson lost confidence and yet he had to depart.

He was soon at the head of an army. He did nothing

without remembering Eugénie, and sending her proof of his love. His name was the signal for victory and his talents and happiness increased. He succeeded in everything. He surpassed the hopes of the people and the army who owed him their success.

Must Clisson really die, although so young and so useful to his family and the country?

He was separated from his beloved for many years. Not a day passed without his receiving from her ever tender letters that supported his courage and nourished his love. In an action in which he had to expose himself, he was dangerously wounded. Rumour exaggerated his condition. He sent Berville,* one of his officers, to inform his wife and stay with her until he had completely recovered.

Berville was at the dawn of passion. His heart had not yet loved. He was like the traveller, weary or lost, who glances about at the end of a long journey to know where he must spend the night; he was searching for a place for his heart. He saw Eugénie, mingled his tears with hers, shared her anxiety and all day long they talked of Clisson and his misfortune. His young heart, unaccustomed to passion, thought it was animated by tender friendship; but a passion all the more furious that it was hidden, had already seized him. He idolized Eugénie. She had complete trust in her husband's friend. Already she wrote less often and more briefly. Clisson already felt terribly anxious. He had recovered from his glorious wounds, but an anxiety which he could not hide revealed the anguish of his soul. Eugénie ceased to write to him, ceased to love him. Berville only wrote him restrained and uninteresting letters. Day and night he thought of his misfortune. At first he wanted to rush to Champfert and rescue Eugénie from disaster and shame. But (to leave) the army, his command . . . and the country had placed him there!

* Berville has nothing to do with Bernadotte, who was then serving in the army on the Rhine and did not meet Napoleon until 1796 in the Italian army. He is perhaps Junot, mentioned in Eugénie's Memoirs.

It is two o'clock in the morning. Everything is ready for death. The orders have been given, the arrangements made for battle. To-morrow this place will be drenched with blood! But you, Eugénie, what will you say, what will you do, what will become of you? Rejoice in my death, curse my memory and live happy.

The alarm beat at dawn. The fires of the bivouacs died out. The columns advanced, the drums beat the charge on the wings and death walked in the ranks.

How many poor wretches regret life and want to preserve it! I alone, I want to end it, for it is Eugénie who gave it to me.

They came to tell him that the left wing had been defeated. The centre had been driven back . . . and is in danger! Shortly afterwards he learned that the centre was victorious but that on the left . . . fresh troops were attacking.*

Farewell, you whom I chose as mistress of my life! Farewell, land of my most glorious days! I tasted in your arms supreme happiness. I have drained life and its pleasures. What remains to me in the future but satiety and weariness? I am twenty-six.† I have drained the ephemeral pleasures of fame, but in your arms I tasted the sweet emotion of the life of man. That memory rends my heart. May you live happy, thinking no more of miserable Clisson! Embrace my children! I hope they have not their father's passionate soul, for like him they would be the victims of men, glory and love.

He folded the letter, gave an aide-de-camp orders to bear it straight to Eugénie and immediately put himself at the head of a squadron, hurled himself into the fight . . . and died pierced with a thousand wounds.

* One is tempted to wonder whether the memory of this vision of a victory changed to a disastrous defeat by the sudden arrival of fresh enemy troops on the battle-field, did not cross Napoleon's mind twenty years later, when he saw the Prussians arriving at Waterloo.

† This gives some confirmation of the presumed date of the story. Napoleon was twenty-six on August 15, 1795.

Samuel Taylor Coleridge

By Hugh Kingsmill

THE death of Coleridge, one hundred years ago this July, was more widely noticed in the press than any death since Dr. Johnson's. Of the fascination he exercised over his contemporaries that much remains to-day. Yet Carlyle's description of Coleridge in his old age of casuistry irradiated by gleams from his decaying imagination is essentially true of him at every period of his life: "A weak, diffusive, weltering, ineffectual man . . . a great possibility that has not realized itself. Never did I see such apparatus got ready for thinking, and so little thought. He mounts scaffolding, pulleys, and tackle, gathers all the tools in the neighbourhood with labour, with noise, demonstration, precept, abuse, and sets—three bricks." Genius, to be fruitful, must gather its material in the external world. The greatest men are always the most articulate, their words being the offspring of the union between feeling and experience. With Coleridge this union was never properly consummated. As a boy he kept away from the other boys, who disliked him, and was petted and flattered by the old women, who wondered at the precocious ripeness of his memory and understanding. Before he was eight, he tells us, sensibility, imagination, vanity, sloth, and understanding were already prominent and manifest. In his teens, at Christ's Hospital, he was less unpopular with other boys, though he continued to live apart from them. His sense of reality was by this time strong enough to operate on behalf of his comfort, and he began to put into practice his gift for arousing in his associates a strong sense of their own manliness and of their consequent obligation to be kind to someone so unfitted for the conflict of life as Coleridge. Throughout his maturity the unworldliness of Coleridge procured him money, board and lodging from his less finely-wrought friends.

At Cambridge he luxuriated in enthusiasm for the

French Revolution and in his love for a girl called Mary Evans, who seems to have been non-committal towards her verbose admirer. He himself describes his letters to her as " a heap of nothingness . . . a river of words and a spoonful of sense." Probably, with his craving for support, emotional as well as material, he preferred her mother, a kindly woman, whose maternal transports, he told her, melted his heart with unutterable tenderness. Meanwhile he was getting into money difficulties, and on being presented by a Cambridge tradesman with the bill for furnishing his rooms he fled to London, hoping that a lottery in which he had taken a ticket would enable him to return to Cambridge with the money required by the upholsterer. His hopes being disappointed, he enlisted in a regiment of light dragoons, in spite of the attempts of the enlisting corporal to dissuade him. It illustrates Coleridge's genius for touching the sensibilities of the normally insensible that this corporal should have jeopardized his recruiting fee in order to save Coleridge from the agonies which awaited him. His fellow dragoons were equally merciful and he kept himself in their good graces by writing their love letters for them. A few weeks of tumbling off his horse sufficed him, he allowed his family to hear of his situation, and one of his brothers procured his discharge.

The outpourings of Coleridge during this experience raise the question which constantly meets us throughout his later life, how far he really felt the sufferings about which he was so vocal. " O my wayward soul ! " he wrote from barracks to a member of his family, " I have been a fool even to madness. . . . I am lost in the labyrinth, the trackless wilderness of my own bosom. . . . My frame is chill and torpid. The ebb and flow of my hopes and fears has stagnated into recklessness. One wish only can I read in my heart, that it were possible for me to be forgotten as though I had never been ! " The most probable explanation of this rant is that he did not know how to convey his real but obscure sufferings

to other persons. He had no language in which to make his dream world intelligible, and he therefore used words not to express what he felt, but to persuade others that he felt both acutely and normally. The result was that some people thought he felt nothing, and others thought he felt too much.

His next attempt on external reality was the Pantisocratic scheme, drawn up by himself and Robert Southey, whom he met at Oxford. They proposed to emigrate to America, and live a self-contained life of manual labour, study and discussion on the banks of the Susquehanna, which attracted them by its remoteness from the world, as it had already attracted Talleyrand, who was living there at that moment in retreat from the Paris of the Revolution. As the education of the young was among the problems Coleridge and Southey wished to solve, they, and a fellow-enthusiast, Lloyd, married three sisters, the Misses Frickers. The scheme fell through, the friends fell out, but the wives remained.

Assisted by Thomas Poole, a prosperous tanner, and by the Bristol bookseller Cottle, Coleridge managed to struggle along as a journalist during the first years of his marriage. Cottle launched him as the editor of a weekly paper, and when this collapsed Poole raised a subscription among a number of Coleridge's friends, who felt themselves "irresistibly impelled to make this offer by the disinterested traits in his character." From this time on Coleridge became more and more confirmed in the belief that his disinterestedness entitled him to support from his less disinterested friends; and Poole especially had to suffer for any attempt to vulgarize Coleridge by persuading him to earn his own living. "Surely, surely," he once wrote to Poole, "you do not advise me to lean with the whole weight of my necessities on the Press? Ghosts, indeed! I should be haunted with ghosts enough—the ghosts of Otway and Chatterton, and the phantasms of a wife broken-hearted, and a hunger-bitten Baby! O Thomas Poole! Thomas Poole!

if you did but know what a Father and a Husband must feel who toils with his brain for uncertain bread! I dare not think of it. . . ."

Poole gave in, and installed Coleridge in a cottage at Nether Stowey, where Wordsworth and his sister Dorothy joined him a little later, settling three miles away at Alfoxden. The depth and force of Wordsworth and the quickening sympathy of Dorothy stimulated Coleridge for the first and last time to give shape to his dreams. The first part of Christabel, Kubla Khan, and, above all, The Ancient Mariner, were the fruits of this marvellous time. In The Ancient Mariner Coleridge created an almost perfect image of his life, and the finest example of dream poetry in European literature. The essence of the poem is its picture of Coleridge's spiritual isolation.

> The many men, so beautiful!
> And they all dead did lie:
> And a thousand thousand slimy things
> Lived on; and so did I.

The happiness which the mariner feels when he looks at the water snakes represents Coleridge's attempt to establish some kind of connection with the world of living things.

> O happy living things! no tongue
> Their beauty might declare:
> A spring of love gushed from my heart,
> And I blessed them unaware.

A healthy imagination would feel only an added horror in water snakes playing round a ship loaded with corpses, and that Coleridge should have chosen this image to convey relief is a measure of his morbidity. The poem is supreme of its kind, but to rank it with the great poems of the world is to ignore the necessity a complete nature feels to balance the experience of dreams with the experience of waking reality. Out of this balance comes the highest poetry which transcends both dreams and waking life.

The flaw in the imaginative unity of The Ancient

Mariner is the retribution for the crime of killing the albatross. This was suggested by Wordsworth, who was at this time, owing to his abandonment of Annette Vallon and the child she had borne him, suffering from remorse and trying to transmute it in poetry. This kind of remorse, springing from a sense of social and personal obligation, was almost unknown to Coleridge. The albatross bothered him almost as much as it bothered the mariner, and the moral he extracts from its killing, that one must be kind to animals, is, to say the least, a perfunctory excrescence on the poem. Fortunately, Wordsworth did not interfere with Kubla Khan, the Oriental munificence of which might have prompted him to suggest to Coleridge that he should remind the reader at the close that a penny saved is a penny gained.

Wordsworth did not care for " The Ancient Mariner." He felt that Coleridge was a man of extraordinary genius, but he could not make clear to himself the nature of Coleridge either as a poet or a man. Coleridge on his side worshipped Wordsworth, and called him " the only man to whom *at all times* and *in all modes of excellence* I feel myself inferior." But Coleridge's desire to be freed from himself by being absorbed into someone or something stronger than himself is more obvious in this outburst than a real understanding of Wordsworth. Coleridge has been extravagantly overpraised as a critic. After the flowering of his genius in the poem he wrote at the age of twenty-five he never again found or even came near finding a suitable vehicle for his genius, except in some occasional verses in which he expressed his dejection very beautifully. That Coleridge had as extraordinary a faculty for criticism as for poetry is obvious, but his impulse to understand what he was criticizing became increasingly weaker, and his desire to be supported by the objects of his criticism increasingly stronger. His finest criticism is in the famous essay on Wordsworth, in which the necessity not to give Wordsworth's enemies a handle by overpraise moderated his

transports. He keeps closer to the subject-matter here than anywhere else, but his somnambulistic view of reality was so far apart from Wordsworth's tranquil sublimity that he has nothing of value to say about the core of Wordsworth's genius. In dealing with Shakespeare his desire to find the Absolute domesticated in human form almost submerged his critical insight. Not only does he represent Shakespeare as perfect, but he shrinks from admitting that his picture of life contains any very unpleasant elements. Othello is not jealous, he is only morally indignant. Cassius is the one envious person in the plays, and Shakespeare " leads the reader to suppose " that the envy of Cassius is something constitutional, something derived from his parents, something he cannot avoid. " Troilus and Cressida," the most bitter of Shakespeare's plays, is a translation of " the poetic heroes of paganism into the not less rude, but more *featurely*, warriors of Christian chivalry." More fantastic still—all the elements of womanhood in Shakespeare are holy.

There are fine remarks scattered throughout his criticism of Shakespeare, such as : " Shakespeare's characters . . . may be termed ideal realities. They are not the things themselves, so much as abstracts of the things, which a great mind takes into itself, and there naturalizes them according to its own conception." But for the most part he used Shakespeare as an asylum from reality, and when he had exhausted the reassurance to be derived from Shakespeare he turned to Christianity, and housed his soul there as comfortably as he housed his body at the Gillmans.

After Coleridge's death, Wordsworth embodied in two lines his intuition of the marvellous powers which had been entangled and suffocated in the sick depths of Coleridge's nature—

> The rapt One of the godlike forehead,
> The heaven-eyed creature sleeps in earth.

Austria, Hungary, and the Habsburgs

By Charles Cunningham

(ii) HUNGARY.

[*The first part of this article appeared in the June Number of The English Review.*]

IN the first of these two articles it was suggested that in the interests of European peace as a whole, reunion between Austria and Hungary was desirable. Reports to hand of the economic agreements concluded between Italy, Austria and Hungary as a result of the Rome Pact of 1934 give the impression that such a reunion is more probable to-day than it has been at any time since it was suggested by Italy in 1933. That such is the case is due, to a very considerable extent, one has the impression, to Signor Mussolini, surely the most constructive statesman living to-day.

The Rome Pact was sealed on March the 17th of this year, and as hardly two months had elapsed at the time of publication of the first outlines of the economic agreements arrived at as a result of the pact it is only natural that there should be a certain lack of detail in the official reports from Rome. Broadly speaking, however, the results appear to be satisfactory to all parties, more especially, perhaps, to Austria and Hungary, which, those latter countries being most in need of aid, is highly gratifying. Naturally, a great deal of the success of the Rome Pact is due to Italy's ability and willingness to buy, from Austria certain manufactured goods, from Hungary, cereals at a price profitable to the producer; but what is most cheering is the knowledge, that as a result of the Italian obligation to buy from Hungary 1,000,000 metric hundredweights of cereals, Hungary herself is in a position to offer considerably increased scope for Austrian manufactured goods. In return, Austria will take more than 2,000,000 metric hundredweights of cereals from Hungary, and thus the

traditional inter-circulation of goods between Austria and Hungary is renewed, while at the same time the prospect of yet closer relationship between the two countries is appreciably brightened.

But if the prospect of Austro-Hungarian reunion is brighter than it has been for some time past, the need for such a consolidation is, surely, greater than ever. It has been suggested already that there is a very considerable body of feeling in Europe hostile to the almost contemptuously expressed ambition of the Third Reich to absorb neighbouring Austria. What has not as yet been suggested is the far from impossible effect of the almost complete isolation into which Germany appears likely to sink as a result of her alienating foreign policy.

Of the acknowledged Great Powers I can think of only one, with the exception of Poland, which has not been seriously exasperated by the recent trend of Nazi diplomacy—namely Russia. It is true that by her rejection of the Soviet invitation to sign the proposed Baltic Pact of non-aggression Germany would appear to be not over-anxious to enter into too close a contact with Russia. It appears, too, to be true that France is flirting with Russia. But there are few appearances more deceptive than those of international relationships, many things that could surprise me more than to hear that Germany and Russia had entered into an alliance. Russia, it is presumable, would welcome such an alliance. Germany, it seems not unlikely, may be forced into it, unless she determines to play a lone and long-waiting hand.

But even if it does not become a case of German-Russian alliance, with all its attendent possibilities, there is always the other possibility of an expansion of Nazi influence through Austria and Hungary and by way of the German minorities in Jugoslavia and Bulgaria to the old-established, race-conscious Saxons of Transylvania which since the war forms part of Roumania. The prospect of a Nazism extending from Berlin through Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade and Sofia to Bucharest

can in no circumstances be regarded with equanimity; but if, as one should, one considers the far from impossible ultimate results of a German-Russian alliance, the added prospect of these capitals being controlled from Moscow via Berlin is menacing. And thus, speculating admittedly, we see from yet another angle the absolute necessity for Europe as a whole to have Austria and Hungary reunited in a unity wherein Hungary shall have ample scope to play, if necessary, her historic role of Bulwark of the West against influences from the East.

Which brings us to the question of the Small Entente attitude towards probable Austro-Hungarian reunion and probable Habsburg restoration in Hungary.

As recently as 1933 the Succession States, as has already been said, opposed the plan for an economic union between Austria and Hungary. Their reason for so doing was that the possibility of irridentist activity in Hungary would thereby, they thought, be increased. But a glance at their respective strengths as opposed to what Austria and Hungary could—if they would, which they would not—raise must have reassured them. Less reassuring, however, must be the contemplation of the German minorities in their respective midsts. For not only, it is to be presumed, will these minorities react to the propaganda which, as time goes on, Germany may be expected to institute or, if it is already in being, increase; but as well the quelling of that minority activity which really might be expected were Germany ever to come to grips with one or all of the Small Entente States could and would most seriously and materially affect the strength and efficiency of one or all of the Small Entente States' fighting forces, since not a little part of such a force or forces would be diverted for the purpose of maintaining order within: an impossible condition of affairs for a defending state.

There is, too, the economic factor. Czechoslovakia has by far too large a proportion of her foreign trade with Germany to wish to be encircled, as she would be encircled supposing that *Anschluss* were to become a

fait accompli, by that country; and neither Jugoslavia nor Roumania are in such a condition of prosperity as to be in a position to forswear the possibilities of participation in that increased purchasing power which would be a reunited Austria-Hungary. Kramarz, one of the leaders of the Czech extremists, was speaking but the truth when in a statement published in December, 1932, he said: "The full burden resulting from the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Customs Union now devolves upon Czechoslovakia. . . . In the circumstances, we see no reason to take a roseate view concerning the future of Czechoslovakia." In my opinion, Kramarz was right, for it seems to me that Kramarz in 1932, as more than ever Small Entente politicians must be realizing to-day, realized that by the destruction of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy the political and economic deterioration of the Danubian Valley had been started and that the way had been opened for Germany's expansion eastward.

The paralyzing effects which would be exerted on the life, both political and economic, of the Small Entente by a Germany which extended in, roughly speaking, a semi-circle from Berlin to Bucharest are not hard to envisage. Certain is it that those effects would be infinitely more destructive to the nationalism which is the root of Small Entente politics than could be the most spirited of Austro-Hungarian irridentist movements. So much so that belief in the proven ability of the Succession Statesmen and not mere idealistic optimism prompts me to suggest that, with economic unity between Austria and Hungary already definitely foreshadowed by the more recent public events in those two countries, when the time comes for propounding the question, "Do the Habsburgs return to Hungary, or do they not?" the answer so far as Czechoslovakia, Roumania and Jugoslavia is concerned will be, "Yes," even though that answer may be based on no more substantial enthusiasm than the necessity for choosing the apparently lesser of two evils. In which case,

what is probably the greatest of all obstacles in the path to the Hungarian throne of Archduke Otto will have been removed.

But of obstacles other than possible though improbable Small Entente opposition there is one; and at first sight it appears formidable. In the case of Austria, we saw, there was scarcely any legal objection to a Habsburg restoration. In Hungary, however, the position is complicated by the Parliamentary declaration of 1918 to the effect that the Pragmatic Sanction, regulating the Habsburg right of succession to the Hungarian throne, had become null and void. Then again, on November 6th, 1921, following the Emperor Carl's second abortive attempt to regain the Hungarian throne, a law was passed by Parliament formally dethroning the Habsburgs. There is little doubt that foreign pressure played a large part in urging through the law of dethronement, but even so the law was apparently not sufficiently clear for some of the Powers who had sponsored it, with the result that, on November 10th of the same year, the Hungarian Parliament in a supplementary declaration stated that Hungary would not settle the question of her eventual King without first submitting the question to the powers represented at the Council of Ambassadors. Since it was registered with the League of Nations, the declaration of November 10th has the character of an international obligation and might well be looked upon as providing a strong deterrent to any aspirant to the throne. But as such I do not feel that it can be regarded.

It has already been demonstrated in the first of these two papers that a decided degree of unanimity exists, or would appear to exist, among the powers of Europe concerning the return of Archduke Otto, it being felt that such an action is the sole one which can be expected satisfactorily to stabilize the two countries, Austria and Hungary. But if stability really is to be achieved and its essential utility guaranteed, Hungary perhaps more that Austria is in need of a ruler, one to whom the

people can look for a stimulus, an example. I shall have more to say later on concerning the traditional, peculiar need for Kingship in Hungary. At the moment, it is reasonable to suggest that the unanimity of external opinion regarding the return of the Habsburgs to Austria applies equally to the future of the young Archduke in Hungary; that, therefore, the international obligation undertaken by the Hungarian Government in 1921 does not present the impassable barrier to restoration which even a year ago it seemed to; that, indeed, it will present little if any barrier at all once Hungary is ready to receive a King.

If Hungary were a dictatorially ruled country and General Gömbös, the present Prime Minister, were Dictator, I should hesitate before expressing feelings of optimism concerning the return of the Habsburgs to Budapest. So long ago as 1921, General Gömbös revealed what might be referred to as a lack of cordiality when, on the occasion of the late Emperor's unhappy but heroic attempt to regain the Hungarian throne, he raised and led an army against his King. It can very well, of course, be argued that in so acting the present Prime Minister of Hungary was but doing what he considered his duty. Others there are among the Hungarians—they are an immensely warm-hearted race and one to whom the word chivalry means much—who feel: "On the contrary, loyalty to one's King comes before even the sternest dictates of conscience." For me, of course, it is not to attempt to presume to judge. All I can say is that I can understand the reluctance with which the Prime Minister is said to view the prospect of a restoration; admire the statesmanship which has led him of late so greatly to moderate his public opposition to an event, which perhaps, he is beginning to realize is inevitable. But Hungary is not a dictatorially ruled country, is strong for constitutional methods; and in both the Upper and Lower Houses, Archduke Otto has his considerable following. Moreover, it is believed in Legitimist and certain parliamentary circles that the next few months

will see a change in the leadership of the country; a change which will see the return to power of a statesman more favourable to the Habsburgs than the present Prime Minister. While public feeling in general seems to be distinctly more for than against Otto.

Indeed, throughout the land, among the nobility, the clergy and the peasantry I have remarked in recent times a most extraordinary change in the attitude towards the King Question. When first I was in Hungary, four years ago, there was sufficient enthusiasm for the young Archduke to make it clear that, let the non-Royalists say what they would, there was a very definite movement in favour of the eldest son of the late Emperor Carl. But nothing in recent affairs has surprised me more than the manner in which this movement has spread and gained in force, especially during the past year, the most significant aspect of the matter for me being not so much the number of " conversions " that has taken place, as the calm, confident expectation which has replaced the perhaps somewhat fevered hope of even a year ago among those older adherents of a cause which has ceased to be a party or even national affair but has become a matter of international importance.

In order fully to appreciate the strength of the monarchist cause in Hungary it is necessary to retrace our steps and to refer back to that " traditional, peculiar need for Kingship in Hungary " to which I have previously alluded in the course of this article. It has been stated that Hungary was a strongly constitutional country, and that is so; but the very roots of that constitution are intertwined with the Holy Hungarian Crown, that ancient symbol which was conferred upon Saint Stephen, first King of Hungary, by Pope Sylvester II, in the tenth century. The significance to Hungary of royalty is well illustrated by Vambéry, the Hungarian historian, who wrote : " The Christian church was the corner-stone of all social and political order in the days of Stephen. The church pointed out the principal objects of human endeavour . . . and prescribed to mankind its duties . . .

Hence it was that Stephen, in organising the Hungarian Christian Church . . . consulted as much the interests of his royal power as the promptings of his apostolic zeal" Later on, as Vambéry pertinently remarks, "other Empires more mighty than Hungary indulged in internal quarrels and were grievously hurt by them; but Hungary, strong Kings at her head, prospered."

But as the late Count Albert Apponyi wrote: "The crown is not only the symbol of royalty, but also of the Hungarian State, of the whole Hungarian nation, of her constitution and of her territory; it is even more than a symbol—it is the seat of sovreignty. For although all the nobles, that is the whole legal nation, were originally called members of the Holy Crown . . . to-day, when the ancient privileges of the nobility are enjoyed by all the people, this designation is applied to all Hungarian citizens without distinction. For the simplest of them, his King's prerogative is not a strange power, menacing, odious; it is, on the contrary, the principal organ, the head of a social body, to which he himself belongs within the modest sphere of his station, in the inviolability of the royal majesty. In his eyes, this is the highest and most effective guarantee of his personal and political liberty."

And to-day Hungary is without a King, which is the same as saying that she is a country weakened at her most vital point, that is, in her tradition. There has been talk from time to time concerning the possibility of a *putsch* to restore Archduke Otto; but such talk, which has appeared in certain sections of the non-Hungarian Press, is at the best foolish, otherwise malicious, invention. A large section of Hungarian opinion is definitely in favour of a restoration, while even those who are most against it must realize that the question, having become one of international importance, is to a marked extent out of their hands. No, there will be no Habsburg *putsch* in Hungary, for those who are best informed realize too well that the odds are too much in favour of the royal family for it to be worthwhile risking everything for the sake of gaining so little in the matter of time.

I have said that an atmosphere of confident calm overhangs the royalist horizon in Hungary, and for that atmosphere of confidence and calm I, for one, am grateful. Since the first of these articles was written, further serious disturbances have been taking place in Austria; and though Hungary has not as yet been affected, she can and certainly will be so unless the influences which are behind the Austrian disturbances are once and for all crushed. But the sole means of so doing that I can see is to restore the dual monarchy. The sooner that this step, in my opinion increasingly inevitable, is taken, the better for Austria and Hungary and Europe as a whole.

Strategy and Swaraj

By Lieut.-Colonel A. Baird Smith, D.S.O. (Retired)

THE maintenance of military security and order throughout the Empire in time of war,, and the safeguarding of its communications, a responsibility of Imperial Strategy properly due to rest upon some kind of combined Imperial General Staff, must be heavily weighted by the new problem of the defence of India; a part of the Empire wont to be firmly held in British control, but now about to be pushed along the path of self-government, which may lead sooner or later to its complete independence.

An Empire that mainly consists of the *disjecta membra* of numerous "sovereign" Dominions, nominally if not effectively responsible for their own defence, and only vaguely committed to sharing in the defence of the whole so-called Commonwealth, must, in a military sense at least, become progressively weakened by each new slice of "self-government" carved from the central Imperial authority. Particularly must this be the case where the newest aspirant to sovereign independence is not a developed one-time British Colonial Settlement, but a great sub-continent peopled by teeming alien races, conquered by British arms, developed and civilized by British brains and wealth, and hitherto rightly and impartially administered by a handful of British officials, with the power and prestige of a British army of occupation to back them. The defence of India, as it is to-day, with responsibility for law and order in British hands, and with military control of all internal communications, of all sources of supply, and of all arsenals and magazines fully assured, is a strategical problem of sufficient difficulty; even if the general good-will, if not the co-operation in this defence, of the native inhabitants themselves may still be taken for granted.

The phrase "self-government within the Empire" is nowadays synonymous with complete theoretical freedom to contract out of it; and any abridgement of

local autonomy by the Imperial authority is not only considered inexpedient, but further seems to be barred by the Statute of Westminster, wherever it may be accepted as operative. The form of self-government with "safeguards" is an experiment which on the face of it appears to conflict with the said Statute; yet it is inevitable that a demand for the abolition of all Indian constitutional "safeguards" will early be formulated, and in the end conceded. India will thus attain to a "Swaraj" transcending even the "Dominion status" in which at present it is proposed to clothe her; a dignity for which, by her alien blood, her Asian economy, her caste system and her ancient religions she is for ever disqualified.

It is with an India thus transformed and disguised, still nominally of the Empire, but only wanting an opportunity for final divorce, that the framers of the scheme of Imperial defence will, in the not very distant future, have to reckon.

The India of "Dominion status," progressing towards complete emancipation, and still dowered with the untold wealth acquired during her guarded minority, will offer to the envious gaze of her powerful neighbours a spectacle at once tempting and tantalizing. For the Imperial tie, however slender, would still seem to imply that any attempts to ravish and plunder this fortunate virgin would be prevented by the armed might of her Imperial protector; an inference natural to be drawn from the deceptive appearance of great strength offered by the British Empire's imposing façade.

As time passed and the weaknesses of India's new constitution developed, in a series of disorders to which she could no longer apply the old, tried remedies of her minority, it might be that the inexperience and divisions of her government, the disturbance and confusion of her trade and finance, the rebellion of her subjects or the insubordination of her armed forces, would combine to offer to her enemies opportunities well-nigh irresistible. Whether she could then count on the ready help of the

Imperial forces would depend on the degree of actual separation which Swaraj might have succeeded in bringing about; in other words, whether the British garrison still remained at hand, ready to restore order or defend the frontiers. If, as a result of her inevitable political evolution, India had already divested herself of this remaining prop, the only possible form of British intervention would be to bring an army from overseas to conquer the Peninsula *de novo*. An undertaking of such unpredictable magnitude can, however, hardly be studied to-day as a reasonable problem of Imperial strategy.

Swaraj, then, would have to invent some strategy of its own, to cope with a situation entirely transformed from the tranquil security of the old Imperial rule. As to its frontier defence, the buffer State that used to accept the Imperial suzerainty, and swallow the Imperial subsidies, would perhaps consent to remain, out of self-interest, an obstacle in the path of advancing Soviet Russia; and Indian money could still buy a measure of its military co-operation, or its benevolent neutrality. Yet to-day this State affords a kind of base for those Islamic ambitions which, within and outside the Indian fronter, aspire to make of the Punjab, Sind and Kashmir a "Pakstān," a Moslem Holy Land. In the stirring of the witches' cauldron of racial and religious strife which must here arise, the lawless Afghan and Pathan elements would willingly lend a hand.

The attempt to establish such a Moslem block would only be one of the possible consequences of paralysis of the central Swaraj government. A break-up of the Federal structure, if once begun, would develop in accordance with the precedents of centuries of Indian history; in which are recorded the ceaseless ebb and flow of war, rebellion, brigandage and massacre across the oppressed and famine-stricken governorships of the Mogul's deputies. Sudden transition from Federal Dyarchy to full Swaraj might end in the formation of a league of the major States, agreeing each to grab its share of the minor

principalities; but over such an unstable and opportunist combination a Federal government could maintain very little control. India might thus come to resemble an arena full of hungry carnivora, who would not hesitate to attack one another, or to tear their keeper to pieces. In place of a hereditary Emperor, born in the tradition of absolute power, who could lead out an army to subdue his rebel provinces, there would be in the last of all the Delhis a bewildered Council of professional politicians, wondering which, if any, sections of their mutinous armed forces would consent to fight for a Babu Raj.

Though divested of direct or indirect authority in India by its own act, the Imperial government could not remain an unmoved spectator of the ruin of an edifice it had so confidently set up. The military reactions on Empire defence of an India in a state of internal chaos would be many and serious; since the authors and instigators of the upheaval could by no means be reckoned as any but enemies. The declared aims and ambitions of Swaraj, could they be attained and somehow supported by the suffrages of an immense, primitive-minded electorate, would themselves suffice to revive and nourish the ill-will for long deliberately engendered by the Swaraj political crusade. The boycott of British goods, one of the first measures foreshadowed, no doubt appears to its advocates a perfectly simple undertaking, and not one calculated to affect a "freedom of the seas," under which India's own outward trade could by common agreement be permitted to continue. Such a boycott, indeed, might not be regarded by any British government as an act of war; since its present command of Indian seas, its easy access to Indian ports would enable it to make any appropriate economic reprisals. Imperial strategy, however, would have to be concerned not only with the damage thereby done to India's trade, but with any unavoidable interference with the trade to India of other naval Powers, who were strong enough to resent it. As yet, of course, the most sanguine of Indian reformers has

not conceived a "Swadeshi" navy capable of protecting India's world trade, or of enforcing an embargo against that of the British Empire. In return for ample concessions in Indian markets some other Power might agree to countenance and assist Swaraj in its attempt at discrimination; but if it were itself a great naval Power, the price it could demand for its benevolence might almost amount to a monopoly.

It is easily conceivable that India may find other suitors for her favours far less considerate than her former overlords. The newcomers might demand with menaces so many exclusive privileges that their refusal might lead to a real war. Only a Swaraj firmly established in power could hope to exact a favourable bargain; but since the peculiar nature and structure of India's first constitution, with its inchoate association of dissimilar units, seems to predict a chronic instability, weakness would have to yield what only strength would dare to refuse.

It would be premature to speculate on the possible developments of such a situation; or to imagine that, on the precedent of Manchuria, a convenient puppet might be seated on the throne of Delhi, to lend a cover of legality to the gradual absorption of his Kingdom by a Great Power in search of markets. It need not, however, be assumed that while a more or less peaceful penetration of India's commercial field was going on, its political situation would remain in a state anywise resembling final equilibrium. During a contemplated "transition period" in its constitutional growth, the young plant of Swaraj is to be sheltered and nourished by its Imperial guardians; who, it seems oddly assumed, must for an undefined period agree to spend their money and risk, if necessary, their ships or their soldiers in the thankless task of protecting Swaraj from its enemies or even from itself. It is not impossible, however, that the prospect of losing their Indian Empire, purchased with so many lives and so much treasure, and of being ousted from their Indian market, would in time discover an end to their

patience; disillusioned and impoverished by their gratuitous sacrifice, they might abruptly withdraw, and leave Swaraj to face its fate alone.

In this event, invasion across her frontiers, perhaps a consequence of some great war in which the Empire was engaged and no longer willing or able to assist her, would renew for India that series of catastrophes which it has hitherto been the aim of the Imperial authority to prevent.

So long as the nature of development of this transition, and the length of time it will occupy, can only be guessed, Imperial strategy is faced with a problem whose terms cannot be precisely defined. After the complete severance of the Imperial connection, Indian " transition," even if from order to chaos, might be taken as accomplished, and the task of holding the ring against outsiders, or of entering the domestic bear-pit to restore order, be regarded as no longer a duty. From an impossible strategic position in the interior of the Peninsula the last British garrison would have made a timely if undignified retreat; while the British squadron once based on the great ports which Imperial trade and enterprise had created, would cease to show the flag in Indian waters.

The theoretical right to eject British warships and naval establishments from its ports has recently been discussed and claimed in the parliament of at least one Dominion; which, in common with all the others, has an oversea trade guaranteed as to its security in time of war solely by the British Navy. The Empire, built up by nothing less than supreme sea-power, now includes among its members great communities to whom the *raison d'être* of sea-power appears strangely incomprehensible. Indeed, the units of this sea-power are often regarded as expensive luxuries, signs of an unregenerate militarism or of reactionary and interfering Imperialism. The money available for maintaining the fleets, bases, docks and coaling stations of the Imperial sea-power, passes through the budgets, and is increased or diminished

by the political exigencies of the temporarily governing party in a British parliament; so that though the Empire's commitments may continue to grow, the naval provision to deal with them may be arbitrarily determined on some other and unrelated basis.

Yet there have hitherto remained certain definite assumptions that could influence the general strategic situation. Thus, for instance, the fact of an India completely under the rule and governance of the Imperial authority signified that here was not only a strong British military outpost, and a large reserve of British troops quartered in an accessible and convenient training area, but also an indispensable naval link in the long chain of the Empire's communications. From this it could also be assumed that British control of the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean by an East Indian Squadron was easily assured; and that the bases of this Squadron could not be threatened by enemy action from their landward side. Further, it could be taken for granted that the resources, financial industrial and military, of India itself would be, in time of war, to a large extent disposable by the Imperial authority, and by no other.

It did not escape remark, at the time of granting self-government to the Union of South Africa, that the complete military evacuation of that country removed the strategic advantages to Empire defence, which the previous situation had for a great number of years secured. The British garrison in South Africa, like that in India, was aptly placed both as an outpost or as a reserve; while by its presence it guarded the hinterland of the British naval base. A great war, in which by some unforeseen calamity the Empire's line of communications via Suez had been interrupted, could still be carried on by using the Cape route, if controlled from the naval base at Simonstown. At present the security and existence of the South African naval base is guaranteed by a kind of benevolent tolerance, which it is argued might be rightly terminated by an order to quit. If the Imperial War-

Direction had to reckon with yet another "sovereign independent," not even benevolent political entity, in the shape of the India of Swaraj, the problem of getting its ships or its troops in safety to the Far East would be greatly increased in difficulty; even the Singapore base, to be reached, perhaps, by a necessarily prolonged voyage via the Cape, with no secure intermediate stations, would, so to speak, have receded into almost unattainable isolation.

Thus Empire defence, once a casual interest, later a curious puzzle for Victorian statesmen, and yesterday exalted into an exact science, may to-morrow become a kind of philosophy of expedients and intangibles, with which strategy, at least, can have nothing to do.

The Menace to India's Health:

Plain Facts About the Threat to the Medical Services.

By Lieut.-Col. C. L. Dunn, C.I.E.

(*Late Director of Public Health, United Provinces*)

AS a result of the passing of the Government of India Act of 1919, the Medical and Public Health Services of the provincial governments of India became " transferred " departments and thus came under the control of Indian ministers responsible to an elected majoriy in the Provincial Legislative Councils.

This change was looked upon with some apprehension by the heads of these departments, who did not look forward with elation to the prospect of having to carry out loyally any policy that might be laid down by Indian Ministers, the greater number of whom were of the well-known lawyer-politician type.

They, however, were encouraged by the fact that the secretaries to Government were still experienced officials of the Indian Civil Service who, together with the Provincial Governors, might be expected to act as a brake on any subversive proposals that the Ministers might try to enforce.

They also took heart from the fact that in the Indian press and in the speeches of Indian politicians these departments, together with education, were dubbed " nation building," and therefore might be expected to be favoured by Indian Ministers and to have their claims for improvement strongly supported.

At first it seemed as if their hopes were to be justified, as the Ministers in charge of these portfolios in most provinces made encouraging speeches in favour of the expansion of these departments and made laudable endeavours to obtain funds for this purpose.

It soon became evident, however, that their ideas on the important subject of the *control* and *superintendence*

of these departments differed fundamentally from those of their predecessors.

In 1921 these departments in the provinces were still suffering from the great depletion of experienced officers of the Indian Medical Service, which took place during the War, and the inability of the Army Department to release sufficient medical officers from military duty. There was thus a very large number of vacancies among the superior personnel, which had been filled up by civil assistant surgeons of little experience and of necessarily lower professional ability. At the same time, the finances of most of the provinces were in an unsatisfactory state.

The Ministers and the provincial legislative councils took advantage of this situation to urge the policy of replacing permanently by Indians these officers of the Indian Medical Service, a service which is recruited by the Secretary of State. Ministers continued this policy even when finances became better, with the result that the number of Indian Medical Service officers employed in the control and superintendence of the Health Services dropped to such an extent that in the United Provinces they fell from the pre-war figure of between fifty and sixty to about twenty at the present day.

> "Its war reserve is employed in the civil medical work in the provinces and the number of I.M.S. officers for which these provinces have till recently been required to provide employment was 36. The number has now been reduced to 18. The number actually employed in the province is 24. . . . The number of I.M.S. officers employed (including officers on leave) in the medical department on Jan. 1st, 1921, was 32, and on Jan. 1st, 1928, was 22. The number of posts of civil surgeons reserved for the I.M.S. has been reduced from 30 to 18." (*c.f. Memo of the U.P. Government to the Simon Commission, page* 413).

Not only were the vacancies which should have been filled by I.M.S. officers temporarily filled by assistant surgeons from the provincial medical services, but in many cases the Ministers refused to carry out their obligations to sanction applications for officers to fill

their places being made to the Commander-in-Chief, with the result that many posts were virtually handed over to assistant surgeons as a permanent measure.

Later a large permanent reduction in the posts reserved for I.M.S. officers was made, as a result of the recommendations of the Lee Commission.

The skeleton cadre of the I.M.S. officers thus recommended was supposed to be the minimum to form a reserve for the military branch in case of war, and to provide for attendance on the British officers of the administration and their wives and families, but even this small number of reserved posts was never filled up by I.M.S. officers as the Ministers still opposed the representations of the Heads of the Medical and Public Health Departments to apply to the Commander-in-Chief for officers to fill them, although by this time the services of many were becoming available.

In almost every debate on these services in the provincial legislative councils, the members of the legislature pressed for the appointment of more and more Indians and strongly opposed the claims of I.M.S. officers.

The medical departments, although greatly depleted in this way, suffered less than the Public Health Departments. By continual pressure from the Legislatures in many provinces, practically the whole of the posts reserved for I.M.S. officers were abolished, and in three provinces they were all abolished, including the reservation of the posts of Directors of Public Health.

The result of this series of events has been a serious deterioration in the quality of these public services.

I have no desire to decry the professional ability of many Indian medical men; in fact, I can testify to the professional ability of some of them being quite equal to that of their British colleagues, but there is no doubt that their *general standard* in this respect is distinctly below that of British graduates. Apart from purely *professional* ability, their powers of control and the

maintenance of their hospitals at a high standard of cleanliness and efficiency and their standards of discipline, are notoriously inferior to those of the average I.M.S. officer.

The result is that the cleanliness and efficiency of the hospitals has markedly deteriorated.

This deterioration hase been gratly accentuated by the concurrent application of the policy of decentralization of the control of the hospitals in many provinces, to the District and Municipal Boards. Hospitals which used to be adequately supplied with funds from the provincial revenues, together with obligatory grants from the local bodies, were transferred to the control of the local bodies, with fixed annual grants from the Government.

The result of this policy has been that the local bodies began to reduce their grants for equipment, repairs, buildings, subordinate staff, etc., to such an extent that many of the hospitals in the headquarter towns of districts are falling into a disgraceful state of disrepair, are short of even the commonest and most used medicaments and of the necessary instruments to carry out the ordinary routine surgical operations.

> "Under the present system hospitals and dispensaries are steadily deteriorating both in fabric and equipment because the boards cannot or will not find the money to keep them in repair and properly equipped and because local subscriptions have largely decreased where they have not already disappeared. . . . There is no doubt that the *sadr* hospitals in particular have deteriorated." (*c.f. Memo. of the U.P. Government to the Simon Commission, page* 408).

The Civil surgeons and assistant surgeons of these hospitals are still appointed by Government, but the sub-assistant surgeons, who are in medical charge of the vast majority of branch dispensaries and hospitals, are now appointed by the local bodies. They therefore have now no pensions, though they are entitled to a contributory provident fund. Having no security of tenure, many of them are dismissed on the flimsiest of grounds, should

they endeavour to do their duty and antagonize the district or municipal council by demands for the necessary funds to maintain their hospitals in good condition.

They must also curry favour with the members of the local boards and placate and propitiate them in every way, especially the members of the party in power, otherwise their services are very quickly dispensed with. In towns and districts with Hindoo majorities, no Mohammedan need apply, and vice versa.

> "There are now seventy-five dispensaries in charge of doctors recruited by the boards. The inspector general does not consider that the change has been a good one. Civil surgeons report that the doctors appointed by the boards often have much of their time occupied by attendance on the local district board member, his family and his friends, and consequently have little time for their legitimate duties. Such doctors cannot ordinarily be transferred, and if they prove unsatisfactory are difficult to get rid of, while on the other hand their position is insecure, and they have little independence, which in medico-legal cases is a serious matter. There is, however, another body of opinion which takes an entirely different view. It holds that the medical staff, when under the civil surgeon, does not care much for popular opinion or for the welfare of the public, and that for that reason it is desirable that they should be placed under the district boards." (*c.f. Memo. of U.P. Government to the Simon Commission, page* 409).

It will surprise the town councillor in England to hear that in many places the members of the local board expect free medical attendance and free medicines. If this is refused by the medical officer, an early vacancy in that hospital will occur, and a relation or friend of an influential member of the board will be appointed in his place.

In the case of the Public Health Departments, the replacement of I.M.S. officers by Indians of the provincial and local services has been much more rapid than in the medical service. As stated above, in three provinces there are now no posts reserved for I.M.S. officers, in two there are no I.M.S. officers left, and in the others one or at most two are still serving.

The Provincial Public Health Departments in all provinces have to endeavour to improve the sanitation of cities, towns and villages through the agency of the local boards. In the pre-reform period, they worked in co-operation with the official chairmen of these local bodies, who were nearly all members of the Indian Civil Service, and, as the latter were able to direct the policy of their boards, the progress in the introduction of drainage schemes, water supplies and other essential public services was continuous, by the aid of sound finances and Government grants.

Since the reforms of 1921, nearly every local body has a non-official elected chairman. The result has been that the majority of local bodies are now in a most precarious financial position, and many have had to be superseded to prevent complete bankruptcy. There is, therefore, seldom, if ever, any money to continue the pre-reform policy of introducing and expanding drainage and waterworks schemes. On the contrary, the average local body has failed to maintain existing drainage schemes and waterworks in repair, with the result that there are constantly recurring breakdowns of the waterworks, and nuisances caused by defective drainage have to be seen to be believed.

It is common knowledge that, in the last few years, there have been serious breakdowns in the waterworks of Agra, Lucknow, Allahabad and Benares, and complete disaster has only been prevented by the intervention of the Provincial Government.

As a result of financial incapacity, nepotism, graft and inefficient supervision, the cleanliness of the average town has seriously deteriorated, and the conservancy staffs are far below the minimum standard laid down by Government. They are sometimes months in arrears of their already exiguous pay.

Medical Officers of Health who endeavour to do their duty become unpopular and are in danger of losing their posts, so that, rather than quarrel with their bread and

butter, they let things slide and do not worry the chairmen and members of local boards with proposals for improvement, demands for extra grants and extra staff and the introduction of up-to-date methods. In nearly all the provinces the medical officers of health are appointed by the local bodies and therefore have no security of tenure whatever.

In the United Provinces, however, the serious deterioration which was taking place convinced the Minister in charge of the portfolio, and even the majority of the local boards, that a provincial public health service, with its officers removed from the sphere of local politics, under the control of the Director of Public Health, would be to the advantage of the public, with the result that the whole superior personnel of the Public Health Service was provincialized in 1927.

This improved matters to a great extent, since the Medical Officer of Health could now carry out his duties without fear of losing his livelihood, but, in spite of this measure, frequent requests for the transfer of too-energetic Medical Officers of Health became common, and were based, as a rule, on grounds which had nothing to do with their professional capacity.

The United Provinces Government, in its memo. above referred to, pointed out that a system in which the local bodies were far more independent of control by Government than in England was most unsatisfactory, and considered that too much responsibility had been handed over to bodies quite unfitted to exercise that responsibility. They added that *the system was breaking down rapidly*.

> "In conclusion it is desirable to point out two important issues which arise from a consideration of public health administration in this province and which must be faced though this Government is not at present in a position to express any considered opinion in regard to them. The issues are :—
>
> (1) Has the Provincial Government retained sufficient control over local bodies to ensure a reasonably efficient administration?
>
> (2) Should the Government of India have wider powers in

regard to public health so as to ensure that each province maintains a reasonably efficient administration and does not endanger the health of other provinces?

It is a fact that under the provisions of the present District Boards and Municipalities Acts in this province these bodies are, in the matter of public health, more independent than similar local bodies in England, and Government has less powers of interference. Provisions which are optional in this province are compulsory in England. The officers of the Local Government Board and the Ministry of Health have greater powers than officers of the department of Public Health and can direct that certain essential measures must be carried out even if these involve an increase in local taxation. It is possible that the failure of local boards in this province has been due to too heavy a burden of responsibility having been placed upon them. The second issue raises the question whether, for the purposes of public health, India should not be treated as one country instead of as a collection of provinces." (*Pages* 433 *and* 434.)

If this is the result of purely Indian administration in some of the largest towns in India, is it unreasonable to expect the same result in autonomous provincial Governments when the rapidly diminishing British elements have been removed altogether?

In the matter of rural sanitation the helplessness of the District Boards has been specially marked, although the villagers themselves are quite amenable to reason, and in many provinces the results of hygiene propaganda have been very striking. The villagers themselves have adopted hygienic measures, cleaned up their villages and practised an improved standard of personal, domestic and communal hygiene to the extent of their limited resources, with the result that, where ten years ago village sanitation hardly existed, now between 5 and 10 per cent. of the villages have a noticeably higher standard of sanitation.

"Number of villages in which this village aid scheme is in force 1,064
Number of villages in which the scheme is partly in force 5,447
NOTE.—There are slightly over 100,000 villages in the United Provinces." (*c.f. Director of Public Health, U.P.'s Report for* 1932.)

This improvement, however, has been effected almost entirely by the efforts of the superior officers of the public health departments in co-operation with enthusiastic district magistrates, the co-operative societies, the Red Cross Society, Baden Powell's Boy Scouts and other philanthropic bodies and individuals. The Provincial Governments and the District Boards have contributed little or nothing to these improvements, and with few exceptions have taken little interest in these schemes.

It is a deplorable fact that in the deliberations of the local bodies the members seldom discuss or dispatch the business for which they are supposed to be elected. The average meeting usually discusses political events, which have not the remotest connection with their work, and meetings are often sparsely attended.

If, however, the business contains items such as *appointments to be filled or contracts to be given out*, the meeting is usually preceded by an orgy of activity and canvassing to the extent of threats of boycott or much bribery, in order to obtain the appointments or the contracts for friends. At such meetings a *full attendance of members* is a certainty.

The prevention of epidemics has not been much affected by the transference of the Health Departments, the control of epidemics being in most provinces entirely in the hands of the officers of Provincial Governments, except in large towns. The Provincial Governments, even when they have not a provincial cadre of medical officers of health, maintain some sort of organization for dealing with prevention of disease. This, however, varies greatly in standard and efficiency and in its stage of development.

The powers of the Provincial Governments in this respect are mostly derived from the Epidemic Diseases Act of the Government of India. This Act gives practically unrestricted, but only temporary, power to the Governor-General, which he can depute to the Provincial Governors.

In such emergencies, the entire resources of the revenue staff can be utilized, and are utilized, in severe outbreaks of cholera, plague, smallpox, etc., so that the organization and results are not very different from what they were before the reforms, chiefly owing to the presence of a considerable proportion of British Magistrates who enforce the preventive measures advised by the Directors of Public Health.

In the field of maternity and child welfare, encouraging results have latterly been obtained, mostly by the devoted service of non-official agencies, such as the Dufferin Fund and the Red Cross Society, and the greater part of the funds for these services have been found by public subscription supplemented by Government grants.

In very few cases do the local bodies take much interest in such matters, and it is only by much exertion and propaganda that meagre grants have been obtained for these purposes, grants which are discontinued with distressing frequency should a financially lean year be experienced. In other words, *if economies are to be made, the first grants to be retrenched are those for hospitals and child welfare centres.*

It will be seen, therefore, that there are two great tendencies of the reformed Governments which have far-reaching effects on the efficiency and usefulness of the Medical and Public Health Departments, and which will be bound to be reflected in the vital statistics in the near future. Firstly, the tendency to replace experienced and highly trained officers by Indian officers of the Provincial Medical and Public Health Services to the detriment of the previously high standard of efficiency and control of these services, and, secondly, the tendency to hand over to the local bodies, quite unfitted for this great responsibility, the administration and control of both the hospitals and the public health services.

The result has been the serious deterioration in the usefulness of these services to the public, because of their financial starvation and the appointment of an inferior

type of official to important posts on unsatisfactory conditions of service.

It should be noted that this deterioration has taken place during a period when there was still a considerable number of experienced officers in those departments who still had a number of years to serve and who could exercise a considerable amount of influence on the policy of the Government and endeavour to stem the flood of deterioration by precept and example.

What will be the state of affairs when the last of these officers have disappeared and all are replaced by Indians?

Is it not fair to assume that matters will go from bad to worse, and that in the not far distant future much of the great work that has been done in the last 50 years will be lost, and that the hospitals and Public Health Services of India will sink to such a low standard that they will utterly fail to maintain the health of the people even at the present standard, which is still far below that of all civilized nations?

Do the great majority of Indians (I do not mean the voluble politically-minded Indians, who form an infinitesimal proportion of the inhabitants of that vast subcontinent, but the decent, respectable, hard working and law-abiding middle classes and the dumb and illiterate millions from the villages) desire that the great work of the Indian Medical Service in India should be summarily ended and left incomplete, or that it should continue until the medical profession of India can by experience and precept be left to carry on the work without further tuition and guidance?

After my experience of a lifetime in India, I can assert without fear of proof to the contrary that they do not. They still desire our assistance and guidance, and all classes of society, including large numbers of Indian medical men themselves, have often expressed that opinion to me. What is true of the Medical Service is equally true of every other department of Government.

A Countryman's Diary

By A. G. Street (Author of "Farmer's Glory")

May 16th.

THE rain seems to have gone right away again, and haymaking will soon be here. A light crop in this district for certain. If we don't get a lot of rain in the next week I hope we shall not get any more until about June 20th. When the hay cut is light one doesn't want to make it badly, and any rain after about May 25th will do more harm than good to most farmers in South Wiltshire at any rate. In any case it looks as though next winter will be an expensive one for feeding stock. Still, as one of my men says, "We've come through all right before, and we shall again, please God."

May 17th.

To-day a deputation of farmers from the N.F.U. is to meet the Minister of Agriculture with regard to the continued slump in fat stock prices. Beef, of course, is the chief product of their concern, for to-day fat cattle are 5 per cent. lower in price than they were in 1914. People may talk until they are black in the face about the relative virtues of tariffs or quotas or organized marketing as a means of relief to this branch of farming, but the whole thing is a matter of price. To-day farmers are not receiving 1914 prices for beef, but everybody must admit that their costs of production are higher. There would be the very dickens of a row if the salaried classes were receiving less than their 1914 standard.

May 18th.

I see that my friend Mr. Robert Boutflower, Principal of the Royal Agricultural College, Cirencester, has been criticising some of the methods of cattle judging at our leading shows. The rôle of cat, or if you like very cheeky kitten, amongst the pigeons suits him very well. I do not and have never agreed with all his ideas about farming,

but I respect them all, and agree with a goodly number. I could not get away to hear him at the Farmer's Club some weeks ago, but from reading his paper and the account of the subsequent discussion, I can compliment him most heartily on a well-merited success. Whether one agrees with him or not one is forced to admit that he does realize that to-day farming is no longer a charming occupation for a country gentleman. If he can bring that fact home to some of our breed societies who count show points as being of more value than utility he will be doing the farming industry good service. Of course, he will be bound to meet with a lot of opposition, but that is meat and drink to him.

May 23rd.

This evening I was pressed into service to help a lady friend to hive a swarm of bees. Bees are about the only domestic livestock with which I have not had an intimate acquaintance. Consequently, I was very obedient, very scared, and very humble during the operation. There's nothing like bees to take away one's pride. That is why bee-keepers generally are so friendly no matter what their social position. You forget all about class distinctions when a bee crawls up your trouser leg. For this reason more bees are still badly needed in the South of England, for I am firmly convinced that it was the honey bee who first discovered that :—

> The colonel's lady and Judy O'Grady
> Are sisters *under* their skins.

May 28th.

Yet another haymaking in my life has come round. We downed twenty acres to-day. It was a mixture which contained a large proportion of Cocksfoot grass, and although the clovers and many of the other grasses were barely ripe, it would have been bad policy to wait for them and so let the Cocksfoot get too old. Young Cocksfoot hay is passable, but old Cocksfoot hay is not

worth the labour of cutting and making in my opinion. I see that this year we are two days earlier in starting cutting than last year.

May 29th.

Oak Apple Day. I went up to a neighbouring village to witness their celebrations, which they carry out in order to preserve their right for another twelve months to take dead wood from a large wood near by. This is held by the villagers cutting a green oak bough on this day, and taking it to their village and setting it up in their garden. This done there is a luncheon with a fête to follow. Years ago some village women were sent to gaol for cutting green oak boughs on this day, but public opinion was strong enough to get them released, and the rights which they fought for are still in existence. At the luncheon everybody, from the Lord of the Manor who owns the wood to the lowliest labourer in the village, spoke in favour of guarding these rights for coming generations. It is nice to think that in spite of modern transport and communication village life in England is still alive in places.

June 1st.

I had occasion to go to Birmingham to-day, and I drove up so that I could see the farming and the beauty of four counties at this season of the year. May blossom everywhere. Never have I seen such a show of it before. Wheat, rather like the little girl who had a curl in the middle of her forehead. Where it was good it was very, very good, but where it was bad, it was horrid. Spring corn rather poor generally, and charlock smothering most of it. My father's old foreman used to talk about Spring oats in this fashion.

Oats in May make a man run away,
Oats in June tell another tune.

Well, unless this June is a wet month a lot of Spring oats which I saw on that trip will sing a pretty poor tune at

harvest time. The hay crop generally was light, but roots, where there was a plant, looked very well and very clean. It's grand weather for killing weeds just now.

June 2nd.

Drove home from Birmingham in the morning. Having come up through Wilts, Gloucester, Worcester, and Warwickshire I came back through Oxfordshire and Berkshire. Berkshire was busy haymaking in two or three places, and the ricks, small for the size of the field I admit, were the blue-green colour of first quality hay—hay which has been made without a spot of rain on it. Arrived home to find that we had over a hundred acres cut, and that the elevator and other tackle were all in readiness for carrying on Monday morning. This travelling about the country is making a bad farmer out of me, but the increased responsibility it puts on to my pupil's shoulders is improving him out of all knowledge.

June 4th.

Haymaking fast and furious. Cutting and carrying. Car sweep, tractor mower, elevator, rakes, horses and men working as hard as possible, and the finest crop-dryer in existence, the sun, turned on at its maximum power. Ten more days like to-day and we shall have broken the back of this season's haymaking. I wish that we got over the ground more slowly for that would mean a heavier crop. There's no getting away from it. Next Winter's milk production will be an expensive business.

June 6th.

Caught the first train to London this morning, leaving the farm staff all prepared for still more haymaking. No Derby for me but business all day. Sky overcast and quite a drop of rain in town, but I got back in the evening to find that Wiltshire had not seen any rain and that haymaking was still proceeding according to plan.

June 7th and 8th.

Spent a good part of both these days at the Royal Counties' Show, which was held near Salisbury in one of my neighbour's fields. A good show, well arranged, but I found it very tiring. To my mind these shows do a lot of good in advertising farming to the townsman. Surely no towndweller can visit one and see the stands of all the allied trades which are supported by our farming industry without realizing that farming is a large industry. I see in the press that the Minister of Agriculture stated the other day that the milk industry alone employs more people than electrical engineering and ship-building combined. I should imagine that few townsfolk know that, but it is a point which needs hammering home to them. To my mind we farmers should blow our industry's trumpet a lot more on the grounds of its size and economic importance to our town industries and rather less on sentimental ones. When our town cousins wish to sell the products of their labour abroad they must needs fight the competition of other countries, and to succeed in this struggle must mean that they must accept the standards of workers in other countries. Our home farming provides a big market for them which could be protected from this competition. When our rural community is prosperous its members make their money here and spend it here.

June 11th.

Found our haysweep car occupied by a swarm of bees this morning. They had made themselves quite comfortable in the back of the driving seat. To shift them was beyond me, so I fetched a bee-keeper friend. After much bravery on his part and much cowardice on mine we got the seat and the bees out of the car, and were able to get on carrying once more. After supper I drove the bee-expert up to take the swarm home. Even then we could not get them to leave the seat for a straw skep, so we tied some bagging round the seat and took the lot to

his home. But it just shows you. You may have the latest implements and you may pride yourself on being a clever fellow at farming, but when Nature wishes she just points out in no uncertain fashion how impotent you are.

June 12th.

This morning my bee-keeping friend returned the car seat, for which boon my pupil was very glad. A box with a bag over it is a poor substitute for leather and springs, especially when driving over a hayfield all day.

June 14th.

The wind has gone back to the South-West, and there is some rain about. Well, haymaking is practically finished, so the sooner it comes the better. My, but Wiltshire is a thirsty land these days. Even the timber trees are flagging and looking faded as though it were September.

Foreign Affairs

By Sir Charles Petrie

IF the recent proceedings at Geneva have done little to further the cause of disarmament and peace, they have, at least, given us a good idea how the Powers will line up in the event of another war. Great Britain has been more or less consistently supported by the Netherlands, the Scandinavian countries, and Poland. France can clearly count on Russia, Turkey, Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania and possibly Bulgaria. Italy is sure of Austria, Hungary and Albania. Germany for the moment appears isolated, but an understanding between her and Japan is by no means improbable, and she may obtain support in other quarters.

Of the remaining States, Spain is too much occupied with her internal crisis, due to three years of republican rule, to exercise the influence she enjoyed under King Alfonso. Greece has no desire to be drawn into any adventures that shall expose her to the hostility of the British, French or Italian navy. Jugo-Slavia is hesitating between several offers of alliance. The Baltic States are fearful for their independence, and are very wisely drawing together. Every Power, except Great Britain, is arming as fast as she can. So much for the fruits of two years' Disarmament Conference.

France and Russia

ADVERSITY, or the fear of it, makes strange bed-fellows, but rarely such strange ones as France and Soviet Russia. The difference of regime signifies nothing, but it is difficult to see what the French hope to gain by an understanding with Moscow. Russia cannot aid France against Germany by land or air without crossing Polish territory, and that would automatically range Poland on the opposite side. It is possible that she might compel part of the German fleet to remain in the Baltic, but she would first of all have to improve her own navy, and in any event Russia is unlikely ever to have more than

a " nuisance value " at sea. It looks as if the Quai d'Orsay, in pursuing its traditional policy of finding an ally in Germany's rear, has blundered. An agreement with Italy would have been a sounder proposition.

On the contrary, Russia has everything to gain. She is frightened of Germany in Europe and of Japan in the Far East. She wants to get any support she can from the League, and she is determined to wangle an invitation to the Naval Conference next year, when she and France will do their best to persuade the other Powers to sign a series of regional pacts calculated to safeguard the French and Russian coasts. This is not a very cheerful prospect, and it affords considerable justification to those who say that France, while claiming to be the bulwark of civilization, has sold the pass again, as she did in the sixteenth century when she made an alliance with the Turks.

German Politics

MEANWHILE, events have been moving rapidly in Germany since Sir Arnold Wilson wrote in *The English Review* last month: the internal situation has grown steadily worse, and there will be no improvement unless Hitler asserts the authority which he undoubtedly possesses. The present position is that the *Reichswehr* and the Storm Troops are almost at open enmity over the proposal that the increase in the former shall be effected by the incorporation of a number of the latter without preliminary investigation; the relations between the State and the Churches are growing steadily worse; and the separatist feeling in the South is more pronounced than at any time since the war. In addition there is the extremely serious economic and financial situation.

What is alarming from the European point of view is that the Nazi movement is steadily drifting to the Left. That it was composed of mutually antagonistic elements was generally known, but it was hoped that Hitler would, like the Duce, be able to weld his followers into a united

whole, and eliminate the old differences. So far, he has not done this, nor even made any very determined attempt to do it. Yet he alone has the necessary prestige, and if he fails to live up to his opportunities the regime will break up from within. It is probably nearer that fate to-day than at any time since it was established.

The French Home Front

IN France the internal situation is, if anything, more confused than in Germany, and the Government is making every effort to divert attention from home to foreign politics. The high-water mark of the present administration was at the end of April when, in the by-election at Mantes, its candidate beat in the second ballot, by 8,785 votes to 8,489, the Radical-Socialist who had resigned as a protest against M. Herriot's participation in the Cabinet. Since then the Government has lost ground, though it is still not too late to restore the situation if the reform of the Constitution is seriously tackled.

The National Congress of Ex-Servicemen is to be held on July 8th, and this subject will undoubtedly be discussed. In this connection it is significant to note that at their recent conference at Vichy the *Union Fédérale des Anciens Combattants* passed a resolution which declared that "economic forces must henceforth be accorded regular representation in the State": this attitude also has the support of the *Confederation Générale du Travail*, and it was well expressed in an article by M. Déat, the prominent Neo-Socialist, entitled "*Corporatisme oui, Fascisme non.*" In France the demand for a Corporate State comes mainly from the Left, and MM. Tardieu and Ordinaire have pronounced against it.

The Mussolini-Hitler Interview

THE results of the meeting between the Duce and the Fuhrer cannot yet be forecasted, and they may turn out to be very different from what now appears

likely. When Napoleon and Alexander I of Russia met on a raft on the Niemen the world believed that a Franco-Russian alliance was to be the dominating factor in European politics for the next decade; actually, within half that time the two Powers were at war—*absit omen*. Whether the discussions at Venice have any effect at all depends on France and ourselves, for Signor Mussolini obviously intends them to be the first step towards putting the Four Power Pact into effect, and for this to be done the consent of Paris and London is necessary.

The German Chancellor went to Italy by necessity rather than choice. He had to do something to retrieve his position at home, and this seemed the easiest method. Now that the German people has seen innumerable pictures of Herr Hitler settling the fate of the world with Signor Mussolini, it will be more patient, or so its rulers hope. The trouble is that no one doubts the moderation of the Fuhrer personally, but can he control his colleagues? If he cannot, then no promise that he made in Venice means anything.

The Austrian Problem

AUSTRIA may well be the acid test of the Venice meeting. If Germany will allow that country to settle its own affairs without interference, and not attempt to prevent the restoration of the Habsburgs, then we shall know that the Nazi regime can be trusted. Whether any assurances were given by the German Chancellor on this score is, at the moment of writing, uncertain, but it does not really matter. Italy cannot, for political reasons, work with a Germany bent on the *Anschluss*, and the other Powers will never place any confidence in a nation that threatens its neighbour's independence. Let Herr Hitler publicly declare that the form of government in Austria is a matter of indifference to him, and he will have taken a big step towards removing the suspicions of Europe.

There would seem little chance of an Italo-German alliance. Signor Mussolini is the last man to close the

door upon France in this way, and he knows quite well that in the end this would lead to war. He has received Herr Hitler because he hoped that this might yet save a dangerous situation from becoming worse. In short, he has taken the initiative in a way that British Statesmen used to do—when there were British Statesmen to take it.

British Armaments

ADMIRAL SIR SYDNEY FREMANTLE writes :—

"If the Arms Conference fails we must and can increase our defence forces to such extent as to provide for our security. There will be no occasion for the European naval powers to engage in a race with us, nor could they do so with any prospect of success. United States naval strength is, as it always has been, a matter which need cause us but little apprehension.

"If there are two principles which must be appreciated as fundamental, they are that modern warfare cannot be waged without the full support of the nation as a whole, and that this support, and that of India and the Dominions, will be obtainable only if the territorial security of the British Empire, or a British interest of supreme importance, is threatened.

"By a modern and non-competitive increase, in co-operation with India and the Dominions, of our defence forces, especially the Navy, and by their consistent maintenance on a sufficient scale, we can ensure our own security and make our greatest possible contribution to the peace of the world. We must direct our foreign policy to the avoidance of international commitments which involve coercive action, and to the revival of the Anglo-Japanese alliance (necessary for Empire security in the Pacific). We should also cease the constant public discussion about war, and leave the avoidance of it to our trained Foreign Office and Diplomatic Officials, and in the preparation of it, should it be forced upon us, trust to the advice of the trained staffs of our fighting forces."

It is, indeed, high time that the Security Pact cranks

realized that the Armed Forces of the Crown are not pawns to be used in the political game, and that in these days they will only fight in a national cause. Mr. Baldwin's statement that in the long run sanctions mean war cannot be too often repeated, for that war might well be one in which no British interest was involved.

The Chaco War

MY remarks a few months ago on the hostilities between Bolivia and Paraguay have provoked a fair correspondent in Sucre to write as follows :—

"Whatever may be the final outcome of the war between Bolivia and Paraguay it is not over yet, but still in progress, and Bolivia has reactioned notably during the last few months; also General Kündt has been out of command for nearly half a year. The state of Bolivia is so perfectly calm and decided, that it is difficult to realize that she is at war with another power.

"After 20 months of war, we are not restricted in any food stuff: more—the price of all first necessities is exceedingly low, sugar is at 20 centavos per lb., milk at 40 cts. per litro, meat at 30–35 cts. per lb., lard at 80 cts. per lb., rice at 40 cts. per lb., flour national at 20 cts. per lb., Chilean flour 40 cts. per lb., eggs at 5 cts. each, a load of potatoes (125 lbs.) $4.50, chicken or rather fowl $1 each—and even so, we are not limited in quantity, we can buy as much as we like or that we have money to pay for; and that further more with a depreciated currency owing to war conditions.

"We should like you to note too, that no young man of 18 years has yet been sent to the battle line, or any man of 38 years, apart from those who have embraced the military career; also that the uniform and health of the recruits is first class."

I gladly publish this statement of the Bolivian case, but since my correspondent wrote at the beginning of May the situation has undergone a change. In spite of the victory announced by the Bolivians in the Cañada

Strongest sector (the Paraguayans claim to have been victorious there too) on May 24, a week later the Bolivian Government called up all reserves of the classes 1915–16.

A Notable Book

THERE has recently appeared a most penetrating analysis of the present state of the world in *L'Europe Tragique*, by Comte Gonzague de Reynold (Edition Spes. 20 frcs.). The author is a professor at Fribourg University, and was one of the most prominent members of the Convegno Volta in Rome in 1932. His point of view in this book is that we are nearing the end of a revolutionary period which began in 1789, and which has passed through the successive stages of Liberalism, Socialism, and Communism. The world has been brought to the very edge of disaster, and if it is to be saved from going over the abyss it will be because an increasing number of people are coming to realize that salvation can only be found in a return to pre-revolutionary principles.

Comte Gonzague de Reynold welcomes Fascism, not as an end in itself but as a means to an end. He wants to see the State of the future a monarchy, supported by aristocracy and limited by democracy, and he considers that the advent of Fascism is bringing this nearer. In his study of the existing situation the author shows complete familiarity with the problems of all the leading Powers; while not the least interesting of his comparisons is that between Russia and the United States, for in both countries the individual has become absorbed in the mass. He believes that Boshevism is destined to develop into something very like National Socialism.

The League of Nations

IN spite of, or, as he would say, because of the fact that he is very definitely to the Right in his general outlook Comte Gonzague de Reynold is a firm supporter of the League of Nations. He is, however, by no means blind to its defects, of which the two most important are, in

his opinion, the fact that it is a twentieth century institution run by people with nineteenth century minds, and that it invariably raises the world's hopes so high that when they are not realized its own prestige inevitably suffers. He wittily describes the League as a lift stuck between two floors, international machinery and the super-State. Nevertheless the extravagant nationalism which is the legacy of the French Revolution necessitates some international organization, and the League must be mended rather than ended.

Enough has been said to show the great importance of this work. Many of the ideas in it will be new to the English reader, but that is all the more reason why the latter should turn to it, for he may rest assured that there is no man better acquainted with the thought of to-day than the author of *L'Europe Tragique*.

STAG

PARTRIDGE PHEASANT

Austria, Hungary

SHOOTINGS

GUARANTEED SHOW OF GAME
GUN AND CARTRIDGE PERMITS SECURED
ABSOLUTELY INCLUSIVE RATES

CHAMOIX WILD BOAR

Estimates and full details from
A. W. V. MORRIS & Co., Ltd.
3 REGENT STREET
LONDON, S.W.1
Telephone: Whitehall 1692

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

Edited by **HERBERT AGAR**

CONTENTS

The Last Phase	*By J. D. Gregory*
William Hazlitt	*By Hugh Kingsmill*
A Goodly Heritage and Others	*By Eleanor C. Chilton*
An Act of Justice	*By Francis Toye*
Mr. Blunden in Peace and War	*By Ashley Sampson*
Landor	*By Eric Partridge*
This Progress	*By Arnold Lunn*
The Reformation	*By M. C. D'Arcy*

Literary Notes

The "New Economics"

THE Douglas Social Credit plan has suffered from the fact that few of its friends, and hardly any of its enemies, have understood it. The writings of Major Douglas are condensed, and at times ambiguous; they deal with a subject about which the public is almost completely ignorant. Only an unusually enthusiastic convert, or an unusually careful critic, would take the trouble to correlate the various books. But this work has now been done, accurately and with authority, by Mr. Philip Mairet in "The Douglas Manual, being a Recension of Passages from the Works of Major C. H. Douglas" (Stanley Nott). The book is well indexed; its contents are arranged in a clear scheme; it is an indispensable work for anyone who cares to understand the Social Credit Plan.

Major Douglas's analysis of the existing financial system can be divided into two parts. One part deals with the monopoly of credit. On this subject Major Douglas was the first to popularize the views which have recently been expressed by conservative writers, such as Mr. Christopher Hollis and Dr. McNair Wilson. Major Douglas was the first to direct public attention toward the irresponsibility and illogicality of our credit system, and toward the gross evil worked by the gold standard in the post-war world. He was the first to make clear to a large public that our money system was never planned or desired by anybody (or even understood by more than a very few), that it was thrown together accidentally and absent-mindedly in the nineteenth century, without even its beneficiaries realizing what a rich swindle they were inventing, that it was, in fact, a typical piece of British muddling, which as usual consisted of muddling *into* trouble, and not of muddling *through* it.

When dealing with the subject of credit, Major Douglas makes the useful distinction between a nation's "real credit," which is a communal possession and which ought to be administered for the common good, and its "financial credit," which has unintentionally been allowed to become the monopoly of a few men. "*Real credit*," he writes, "is a correct estimate of the rate . . . at which a community can deliver goods and services as desired. *Financial credit* is ostensibly a device by which this capacity can be drawn upon. It is, however, actually a measure of the rate at which an organization or individual can deliver money. . . . What is commonly called credit by the banker is administered by him primarily for the purpose of private profit, whereas it is most definitely communal property. . . . It is the estimate of the potential capacity under a given set of conditions, including plant, etc., of a society to do work. The banking system has been allowed to become the administrator of this credit and its financial derivatives, with the result that the

creative energies of mankind have been subjected to fetters which have no relation whatever to the real demands of existence. . . . It is necessary to transfer the basis of the credit system entirely away from *currency*, on which it now rests, to *useful productive capacity*."

One of the conclusions to which Major Douglas has been led by his study of our financial system should be of special interest to those conservatives who regard the redistribution of property as the greatest need of the hour. "The 'efficiency,'" he writes, "of very large undertakings is a paper efficiency based on access to credit, bulk buying, and price making, and in many cases has no physical basis, the genuine efficiency of the smaller undertaking being frequently higher."

The second part of Major Douglas's analysis of our financial system has to do with the problem of the apparent deficiency of purchasing power, or in other words with the much-mentioned "paradox of poverty amid plenty." This is one of the most confusing problems of our day. The variety of analyses, and of suggested cures, which it has evoked is a sign of our failure to see the problem clearly. There are those (among whom President Roosevelt appears to be numbered) who believe that purchasing power is not inadequate to production, but is merely badly distributed. There are those who think that the so-called "plenty," in the midst of which we are poor, is a delusion, that the machine has made it possible to provide a world of slaves with a large quota of rubbish, but that a world of free men will find the same old difficulty in meeting its civilized needs. There are those who admit a present deficiency of purchasing power, but who blame it on the inevitable working of the capitalist financial system, which leads to periodic oversaving and which, they believe, can only be cured by socialism. There are those who think that the machine, by displacing man-power on an ever-larger scale, has made it forever impossible to distribute, via

wages and salaries, enough money to buy the product of the machine. And there are those who think that, quite apart from modern technical developments, our money-system is bound to lead to a failure of purchasing power because of an inherent defect in the method of cost accountancy. Major Douglas, accepting "poverty amid plenty" as a fact, believes it can be explained by the last two of these theories.

The argument that the machine must create more and more unemployment, that it is, in fact, meant to create unemployment under the more pleasing name of "leisure," is met by Major Douglas with the suggestion that the resultant deficiency in the purchasing power of the working man should be made good by declaring what amounts to a national dividend on the community's production. If it be true that the machine is destined to provide mankind with more and more of what it wants, at the cost of less and less effort, Major Douglas's suggestion seems the most reasonable way of dealing with the situation. But is this true—or would it be true in a society of free men where ownership of real property had again become the normal expectation for a family? This is a question which conservatives should face, and answer, before committing themselves to an economic policy.

The argument that, machine or no machine, our present financial system must lead to an inadequate distribution of purchasing power, is expressed by Major Douglas in his A plus B Theorem. It is impossible to summarize this argument fairly in a few sentences, but the relevant passages from Major Douglas's works are given in Mr. Mairet's book. After studying these passages anew, I am left with the impression that the A plus B Theorem is the most questionable part of Major Douglas's work. It is not, however, anything like so questionable as its enemies have made it out to be by perverting it into a travesty of itself. The extracts quoted in the present book show that Major Douglas has met the reasonable objections to his theorem. If his arguments

are not convincing, they at least deserve, and repay, study.

The alleged shortcomings of our money system which are expressed in the A plus B Theorem are corrected, in the Douglas Social Credit Plan, by a device for price-compensation which is called the Just Price. Again, the argument is too complicated to summarize here, but it will all be found in eight pages of Mr. Mairet's book. Even if the A plus B Theorem is false, the mechanism of the Just Price might be found of value in thwarting some of the iniquities of our money system.

I have described the contents of this brief book at such length because I believe the book should be read by all conservatives who are not yet familiar, at first hand, with Major Douglas's theories. Here, in the briefest and clearest form, is the complete outline of these theories. And whether Major Douglas, in certain vital technical details, be right or wrong, he is at least right in the following important ways. He is right in his contempt for our present money system. He is right in his analysis of the existing monopoly of credit. He is right in seeking to revive the system of private property which is being attacked with equal virulence by socialism and by high finance. Above all, he is right in asserting that our money system must be subjected to our politics, in the sense that it must be made to serve our ideal of the good life, instead of being allowed, as at present, to dictate the limits beyond which politics and morals dare not even plan to advance. In addition to all this Major Douglas is, at the lowest estimate, a strong, original thinker in the field of economics. Knowledge of his thought cannot fail to benefit anyone who is seeking the way out of our present waste land.

Distributism

ANOTHER admirable book, which condenses a whole economic and moral criticism of life into two hundred trenchant pages, is "Flee to the Fields," a symposium

on the aims, the works, and the philosophy of the Catholic Land Movement (Heath Cranton). There is a preface by Mr. Hilaire Belloc. Here are the distributist critique of our present world, and the distributist plan for its regeneration, at their best and noblest. It is encouraging that such a group of essays can be produced in our day. They are all praiseworthy, but "The Rise and Fall of Industrialism," by Commander Herbert Shove, demands special mention. The subject is the world-theme of the twentieth century; Commander Shove does it justice in thirty-two pages.

The contributors to "Flee to the Fields," like most distributists, are too disregardful of the New Economics, which might become a useful ally of distributism, and hence of true conservatism. Nevertheless, as compared with most professional economists, these authors are economic realists. They are realists because their thought is based on principles, and not on the dogged rationalization of the conduct of nineteenth century tradesmen. After reading "Flee to the Fields," a leading article in "The Economist" suggests the squeaking of some old huckster's ghost, chattering about foreign exchanges on a cold abandoned moon.

Miscellaneous

"A HISTORY OF THE CHURCH," by Philip Hughes (Sheed & Ward), is the first of several volumes, and covers the first few centuries of the Roman Catholic Church. It is a detailed work, but highly readable, and will be interesting even to non-Catholics for the picture it gives of pagan philosophy and society, and the method by which the early Church assimilated or conquered these forces.

Mr. Alfred Noyes' "The Unknown God" (Sheed & Ward) should be read by everyone interested in religion, or in the modern world's dilemma in regard to religion. It is a spiritual and intellectual autobiography, dis-

tinguished by its honesty and reserve, profound in its exposure of the many fallacies of thought which we have inherited from the Nineteenth Century.

The Last Phase

CURZON: THE LAST PHASE, 1919-1925. By HAROLD NICOLSON. (Constable & Co.)

LORD CURZON'S character and achievements, largely obscured by legend and misrepresentation during his lifetime, are becoming more and more publicly appreciated. Mr. Shane Leslie to some extent, but only to some extent, justifiably classed him among the Sublime Failures. Yet those few, who directly worked under him and knew him as he really was, have never ceased, despite the strain of tyranny in his dealings with them, to be his genuine admirers, and have always recognized that he must go down to history as a great, if enigmatic, statesman, alone perhaps of his contemporaries entitled to the name. Nobody then is better qualified to draw the true picture than Mr. Harold Nicolson, who served him in particularly close contact during the fateful years that succeeded the Peace Treaties. Lord Curzon was a man who, impatient of hierarchies, was wont to gather round him a small clique of subordinates, with whom, feeling himself temperamentally and intellectually in sympathy, he could work intensively. Mr. Nicolson was one of them and so, with his rare biographical gift, he has been able to give, with unfailing exactitude, a brilliant presentation of a brilliant personality. Of supreme importance though Lord Zetland's Life of Curzon was, it has been left to Mr. Nicolson to narrate in detail the post-Indian career of his subject and to place him, posthumously though it may be, in spite of, or perhaps in virtue of, the final and undeserved disappointment, on the pedestal which is rightly his.

Why then, Mr. Nicolson virtually asks at the beginning of his book, considering that in almost every case Lord Curzon's estimate of events was correct and his vision enlightened, did British policy under his guidance decline "from the very summit of authority to a level of impotence such as, since the Restoration, it has seldom reached"? The biography is a reasoned answer to this strange query.

There are two main phases in the history, which may be designated generally as Curzon handicapped (the Lloyd George regime) and Curzon free (the short Bonar Law Premiership): and any correct analysis of the Foreign Secretary's success and failure should therefore properly fall only under the latter. But, as Mr. Nicolson points out with infinite balance, it was by no means wholly due to the disabilities, to which Curzon was subjected under Mr. Lloyd George's Government, that our foreign policy declined so disastrously between 1919 and 1923: nor do the few exceptions to that misfortune synchronise only with the ensuing year and a half. Our greatest diplomatic achievement was at the Lausanne Conference in the winter of 1922, while our most egregious blunder was the failure to drive home the policy embodied in the famous Note to the French of August 11, 1923, on the subject of Reparations. Both were due to Curzon's own personal action or inaction. The first he carried through with such consummate skill that he recovered all and more than all that had been thrown away in other fields, where he either had not been consulted or had abdicated before *force majeure* or even from lack of interest: the second was due to a sudden collapse on the very eve of success. Various explanations of the paradox can be given, but, in assessing Curzon's general conduct of affairs, one of the main reasons for its uncertainty must be found in the fact, which Mr. Nicolson is never tired of emphasising, that he was never a good European, that he persisted in measuring the West by the Eastern standards which had absorbed his earlier career and which continued to dominate his imagination, and that he was thus only really capable of completing an issue in which his personal experience rendered his judgment more or less infallible. But this is not the whole explanation. The real secret was, not so much that he was too Victorian to appreciate the democratic advance of the times, still less that he clung to inflexibly to an antiquated and unadaptable Imperialism which threw him out of joint with the new problems, but that his mind, for all its vast grasp, its prodigious memory and its superb gift of exposition, constantly and unaccountably stopped short of action. His disabilities were great. He was rarely out of physical pain, while the obstructionism which he encountered from the political mediocrities that surrounded him at home during both periods of his Foreign Office administration, so hampered his action to the degree of exasperation, that an occasional attack of paralysis was in the

circumstances almost inevitable. Contrary to legend, he was an exceedingly human and humorous person, and maybe it was his very humanity and humour which frequently led him into bouts of detachment and inconsistency. Yet, when all is said and done, Curzon's real defect as Foreign Secretary lay in the fact that he was predominantly an administrator and not a politician. " His knowledge of detail intervened to obstruct his general perspective," Mr. Nicolson writes : and again, he was " a man of academic aptitudes rather than of constructive vision " : and finally, " the tragedy of his life was that he imagined that a man could attain the highest office in the State by the sheer worth of industry, integrity, intelligence and efficient public service. It was only in the last months of his life that this illusion was finally dispelled."

Mr. Nicolson's book, however, is considerably more than a mere biography. It is the last of a historical trilogy, which covers the whole range of our foreign policy from 1870 till nine years ago, and, in its record of the crowded events of the last phase, is a triumph of descriptive power and accuracy of detail. The vivid and humorous account of the Lausanne Conference is in itself a masterpiece, while the other grave issues that have arisen in our day, the Greek Expedition, Persia, Egypt, Chanak and Reparations, are not only expounded and disentangled with unsurpassed lucidity, but are compressed into a space which prevents interest from flagging for a single moment.

The conclusion is an essay of the highest order on the comparison between " old " and " new " diplomacy as well as suggestions for its conduct in the future. As such, it is a permanent contribution to political theory, on the one hand, and a basis, on which a much needed reform can be built up.

The foreign political outlook in all countries has clearly undergone a considerable change since 1918, but, subjected to analysis, the conflict is, in Mr. Nicolson's words, " no sudden phenomenon, but a stage in the long process of adjustment, presented in an increasingly intricate, impatient and ill-digested form." " The main distinction," he continues, " between the methods of the new and those of the old diplomacy is that the former aims at satisfying the *immediate* wishes of the electorate, whereas the latter was concerned only with the *ultimate* interests of the nation " : a notable illustration being the confusion which caused the failure to deal consistently with the Reparation muddle. Thus he goes to the root of the problem by his repeated

insistence on the radical distinction between "policy" and "negotiation." "The ideal," he remarks "is to combine the confidential and expert handling of negotiation with the maximum democratic control of policy in the form of ratification." Here arise the separate functions of politician and professional diplomatist, the separation of which since the War has been largely disregarded and is to a great extent responsible for the chaotic condition which characterizes foreign politics to-day. Certainly it is now generally conceded that international conferences, as a normal method of diplomacy, are the wrong method, unless, as a rare exception, they are held to register policy on vital issues already agreed to in principle by prior negotiation or at least where negotiation is sufficiently advanced to justify a measure of optimism as to the final result. Nevertheless, despite the obvious dangers to which he is exposed, the politician's rôle is still a real one: and these dangers are aptly summed up by Mr. Nicolson, when he says that "the politician is always conscious of an audience: the trained negotiator is conscious only of the negotiation in hand." But the trained diplomatic negotiator is also exposed to dangers of his own, professionalism, lethargy, narrowness and timidity. The ideal therefore is to discover a synthesis of the two mentalities.

Yet, even if this can be achieved, there still remains the bigger and far more difficult issue of the general attitude of the English world towards foreign politics: and here again Mr. Nicolson rightly distinguishes between democratic policy and democratic diplomacy. The vice of the former is that, while on the whole it is less dangerous than monarchical or oligarchical policy, there is no real sense as yet of individual or corporate responsibility: the vice of the latter is in its execution. To meet the first, Mr. Nicolson proposes that "the people should be made conscious of their sovereignty and should be educated to take a responsible view of that sovereignty. . . . They should be taught to adopt towards foreign affairs a more critical and less sensational attitude." "I am confident," he says in another place, "that within the present century democratic diplomacy will create an international state of mind in which public morality will approximate to private morality."

Mr. Nicolson is an optimist, but, whether or not his optimism is justified, he is certainly right in urging the intensive education of democracy in foreign policy. The extraordinary, and depressing, reflection, is that in our own country a greater interest should be

taken in domestic rather than external affairs, seeing that, while the former affects people's pockets, the latter may well mean the loss of their lives. By all means let them be fed with "memoranda," notes exchanged on important issues with foreign Governments, wireless lectures, etc. Will they take a greater interest than they have taken hitherto? The most popular of daily papers is well aware that its immense circulation impresses its news, and not its views, on its readers. With few exceptions, the foreign press is almost exclusively political. The most illiterate Serb peasant eagerly imbibes political opinions expounded to him at his café. Of the European press, the British stands almost alone as the caterer of social, sporting or criminal news, often with foreign political items in small print or on a back page. No doubt a paper run on foreign lines would not sell. Are we to suppose that this is going to change in the 66 years that remain to us of the present century: and, if not, how is the public to be educated? At any moment we may be back in July, 1924, when even the House of Commons emptied for the last pre-War debate on current foreign affairs. Here, then, seems to be the real crux of the crisis in diplomacy, and the remedy suggested, admirable though it is in theory, is to all appearance as far off as ever.

There should be a greater hope for the adoption of Mr. Nicolson's proposed reform in the diplomatic machinery, the fusion of the branches of the Foreign Service and the creation of a Staff College, to be open equally to members of the Treasury and Board of Trade, a course which wisdom and post-War experience alike dictate. Only there is an essential point, which is perhaps not sufficiently emphasized, that the control of our foreign policy in all its aspects must be concentrated and fixed at the Foreign Office. Half our failures since 1918 have been due to the slipping of control into the hands of the Treasury and Board of Trade. The blame cannot be wholly attributed either to them or to the Foreign Office. The staff of the latter, efficient and admirable as it always has been and is, has lacked the opportunity for education in finance and economics. Yet these have become increasingly dominant factors in foreign affairs, and the practice has easily grown up of its experts playing the leading part in the negotiation and solution of post-War problems. How confined they were to the narrower issues involved and officially and temperamentally precluded from judging them from the wider outlook of a united policy is common knowledge.

Of all the reforms needed, then, this is perhaps the most pressing. Mr. Nicolson's Staff College idea contains the germs of a co-ordination and centralization which are absolutely essential, if we are to regain our lost prestige and compete successfully with the growing dictatorships that are able to speak with a single voice and confront the democratic nations divided amongst themselves as well as in their component units, with an enviable consistency. The basis of a sound foreign policy must, as Mr. Nicolson rightly says, be reliability, and if, this can mainly be achieved by national education, it is also dependent on improved machinery and procedure.

J. D. GREGORY.

William Hazlitt

THE FOOL OF LOVE: A LIFE OF WILLIAM HAZLITT. By HESKETH PEARSON. (Hamish Hamilton. 10s. 6d.)

THE Fool of Love is Hazlitt's own phrase for himself—"mistaken . . . in my public and private hopes, calculating others from myself, and calculating wrong; always disappointed where I placed most reliance; the dupe of friendship, and the fool of love." In spite of his poetic and essentially generous nature, Hazlitt was never comfortable with other people. He was happy with nature, books, and paintings, and in the contemplation of Napoleon, whom he conceived of as the enemy of the social order in which he was so ill at ease. But his diffidence, which prevented him from believing that he could inspire affection, love or even ordinary respect, turned him, against his own desire for sympathy, into a kind of outcast from ordinary life. Though a poet in his imaginative view of love, his acquaintance with women was limited to the women of the town, whom he could approach without undue ceremony, and to his wife, a good-natured prosaic woman, to whom he had proposed because she was too unattractive to frighten him. "They were never in love with each other," Mr. Pearson writes, "and as all the imperfections in the world could not fill that void, so every imperfection widened and deepened the gulf between them."

Hazlitt was already middle-aged when he made his first and last attempt to realize the ideal which he had not found in his wife, and which the women of the town had blurred without obliterating. At forty-three, while living apart from Mrs. Hazlitt, he fell desperately in love with his landlady's daughter, a young girl called Sarah Walker. As the whole of Hazlitt's life led up to

this passion, which explains both what was weak and what was fine in him, Mr. Pearson has rightly given it the same prominence in his book as it had in Hazlitt's life. Previous biographers have dealt with it cursorily and distastefully, and Augustine Birrell dismissed it as "fit only for the midden." By piecing the story together from the letters Hazlitt wrote to a young friend, Mr. Pearson has made clear that the implication in Birrell's phrase is completely unjustified. There was, as Mr. Pearson shows, far more idealism than sensuality in Hazlitt's passion, and the sensual under-current breaks out only when he is disillusioned, as in Othello, whose alternation between poetic rapture and savage abuse is exactly paralleled in Hazlitt's letters. The nature of his love for Sarah in its mixture of adoration and desire is given in a letter he wrote from Stirling: "As I trod the green mountain turf, oh! how I wished to be laid beneath it—in one grave with her—that I might sleep with her in that cold bed, my hand in hers, and my heart for ever still—while worms should taste her sweet body that I had never tasted!" The fact that Hazlitt's idealism was wasted on a mercenary and silly young girl illustrates his imperfect contact with reality, but neither lessens the tragedy of his love, nor the impression one receives from it of a fine and generous nature.

In giving Hazlitt's love for Sarah its true place in his life, Mr. Pearson has explained Hazlitt as a whole. Hazlitt was unfortunate in his life; he was unfortunate in the enemies he made, who were for the most part men of assured respectability, and he has been only partially fortunate in his biographers, who have been as respectable as his enemies. Mr. Pearson has redressed the balance in a portrait which omits none of Hazlitt's weaknesses, and yet explains why Lamb called him "one of the wisest and finest spirits breathing."

HUGH KINGSMILL.

A Goodly Heritage and Others

NEWS FROM HAVRE. By GEORGE DUHAMEL. (Dent. 7s. 6d.)
A GOODLY HERITAGE. By MARY ELLEN CHASE. (Constable. 7s. 6d.)
DEFY THE FOUL FIEND. By JOHN COLLIER. (Macmillan. 7s. 6d.)
AS IT WAS IN THE BEGINNING. By G. E. TREVELYAN. (Secker. 7s. 6d.)
THE CHILDREN TRIUMPHANT. By PHYLLIS PAUL. (Secker. 7s. 6d.)

IT must be confessed that often the reviewer misses the point of a novel, but it is always arguable that the burden of proof

rests with the author, and that if he intends his story to contain a criticism or even a comment on life, he has only himself to blame if his intention is not clear to the reader. Each of these five books tells the story of an individual, showing with some detail the influences in childhood and adolescence which shaped that individual's life and coloured his mind. " News from Havre " is the first volume of a series and carries the small boy who tells the story only as far as adolescence, but the other four narratives all convey their protagonists to some full stop which in terms of character is supposed to be definitive, if not final. The interesting aspect of this comparison is that the only one of these five books in which the building of character as such is taken into account, and therefore the only one attempting a criticism of life, is autobiography, rather than fiction.

" A Goodly Heritage " is the story of a community as well as the story of a girl who was born and brought up in that community. Miss Chase justifies her uneventful autobiography by claiming that the world into which she and many others were born some fifty years ago has ceased to exist, and that her own home—Blue Hill Bay on the rigorous coast of Maine—was both unique and typical and so deserving of a record for posterity. In all these claims she is right, but her book needs no justification. It is absorbing from beginning to end, and will read to all young people like the rarest kind of fiction. Blue Hill Bay was settled by a few restless colonists from Massachusetts. It grew into a self-contained little community of non-Conformists, many of them sea-going folk during the great days of the clipper ship trade—all of them interesting, as ambitious and inventive people are likely to be when they are cut off from all organized amusements, and prevented by a strict moral code from dissipating their energies in frivolous ways. Such a way of life builds character, encourages personality, and produces eccentrics; and Miss Chase's story is full of rich variations on the theme of human nature. Her childhood, with its religious training, its discipline of " chores " and a high standard of scholarship, was the embodiment of everything to which modern education is opposed; but only a rabid theorist would deny the evidence, and the author's assertion, that hers was, indeed, a good and a happy heritage.

Not good at all, and far from happy, are the backgrounds and destinies given their creatures by the other four authors. Of " News from Havre," since it is only the beginning of a long story, little can be said except that it is extremely amusing and at the

same time rather harrowing. The amusement derives chiefly from that very Dickensian creation, M. Pasquier, the father of the hero, and the central figure of the story. The whole volume deals with the tribulations of the Pasquier family while awaiting the realization in hard cash of a legacy. The reader shares their suspense, as years pass with no good news from the lawyer at Havre, but sees at the same time that the suspense must end in disappointment, just as every reader knows that nothing will ever turn up for Mr. Micawber. The book is eminently worth reading for the sake of this one admirable character.

" Defy the Foul Fiend " is an interesting novel, disappointing in that every page promises more than the next reveals. It deals with the misadventures of Willoughby Corbo, illegitimate son of Lord Ollebeare; of how he found love, lost it through perversity, found it again, and then lost it because he had meanwhile made for himself a way of life which meant more to him than happiness. The quality which makes it disappointing is that of unreality, and yet this quality arises from the quality of Mr. Collier's mind and style, both of which are strongly reminiscent of Meredith in their bias toward the fantastic, their acute analysis and eloquence, their satirical vigour. Mr. Collier will probably write an important novel when he has organized his gifts around some philosophy. " Defy the Foul Fiend " is only comparatively good.

Comparatively good seems a great deal, however, as one turns to " As It was in the Beginning " and " The Children Triumphant." Miss Trevelyan's only claim to our gratitude—a claim staked out last year in " Hot-House "—is that reading her has the novel effect of making one satisfied with human nature as it is, and glad that reality, poor as it is, is a lovely and wholesome thing compared to Miss Trevelyan's imaginary world. The publishers hail this book as an " experiment "—but in reality it is a pretentious excursion into triviality, and reads like an unkind parody on some of Miss May Sinclair's early work.

There is nothing whatever one can say about " The Children Triumphant " except that it is so completely lacking in even the illusion of reality that one can hardly remember to deplore the honest work and intelligence that obviously went into it.

ELEANOR CARROLL CHILTON

An Act of Justice

LISZT. By SACHEVERELL SITWELL. (Faber & Faber. 15s. net.)

IT was high time that a really good English book should be written on Liszt. Musicians in this country have always been inclined to attach too little importance to him as a composer, to regard him, in fact, exclusively as a virtuoso who wrote rather second-rate, if effective, pieces for the piano and a regrettable quantity of orchestral music (of which they are mostly ignorant) that influenced Wagner—its sole claim to serious consideration.

Few continental musicians share this view, and it is not in fact fair to Liszt. The unevenness of his compositions alike for orchestra and piano is undeniable, but the best of them, the "Faust" Symphony, the "Mephisto" Waltzes, and at least a dozen other piano pieces, not to mention several charming songs, inexplicably neglected, are works of the highest order. Still, it may be granted that Liszt was, in fact, more important as an influence than as a creative artist; indeed when one thinks of what the whole Russian school owes to him, quite apart from Wagner and other individual composers, it may be doubted whether any musician has so profoundly affected the ideas of his time and his generation.

Mr. Sitwell's book is especially admirable because it throws all this into the clearest possible relief. The personality of Liszt, with its contradictory aspects apparently so irreconcilable yet so inextricably interwoven, is one that must always appeal to any biographer. With such material a man of far less talent than Mr. Sitwell could scarcely fail to make an interesting book. Where Mr. Sitwell has been so markedly successful is the manner in which he has combined his study of Liszt as an individual with his study of the Romantic Movement in music as a whole. In their mutual reactions on one another all the great figures of that movement, Berlioz, Paganini and Liszt himself, are seen in just the right perspective. That is the way to make the complex personality of Liszt intelligible to the modern reader and, what is even more important, to indicate the right approach to his music, alike as regards its merits and its defects.

We knew already Mr. Sitwell's qualities as a writer: the clarity and fluency of his style, the range of his charming discursiveness. There is no need therefore to praise these anew. What is really remarkable is that he, in no sense a professional musician, has done more than all the professional musicians to enable us to understand the music of one of the most interesting figures of the nineteenth century. FRANCIS TOYE.

Mr. Blunden in Peace and War

THE MIND'S EYE. By EDMUND BLUNDEN. (Cape.) 7s. 6d.

THE most illuminating occasions in Mr. Blunden's new book are those in which we have glimpses of the Blunden that might have been—were it not for the war. The Blunden of the "Undertones" becomes eclipsed entirely, and the Blunden of "The Face of England" emerges; but without that taint of "peace-consciousness" which whispers of strife within, and which slightly smudged the serenity of that beautiful book with dark afterthoughts of war. There are, in "The Mind's Eye," chapters that are quite unhaunted by these old fears—even when he gets so far inside himself as to discourse on the nature of poetry.

Such portions of the book are the work of a happy man; but they form but a part of Mr. Blunden's output, and the shadow of war overhangs it. Even if the "undertones" have become "aftertones"—the wailing of shells and the groaning of big guns are there with the sunshine and the song of birds. We see the world of this poet and thinker through his own eyes and in terms of his own development. It is the author's ability to make us at home upon his hearth wherever we may find it that flavours the book so pleasantly throughout.

Flanders, Japan, England, and the world of war are the four quarters which divide his life and this book; and it is no exaggeration to say that four Blundens are the result. Nevertheless, such a summary of the situation is but a quarter-truth. Those four distinct sides make up one complete personality; and occasionally we have a glimpse of all harmonizing into one clear whelm of feeling—as in his description of the march to the Somme.

Of course, those green uplands of style can only be rare; and generally we must content ourselves with one side of Blunden at a time. So we get war and peace—bloodshed and books by turn. Perhaps the most characteristic memory which "The Mind's Eye" leaves behind is that which many who read "Undertones of War" could scarcely have failed to experience. It is the sense that war was such a reality to Mr. Blunden that everything which has happened to him since has assumed the shape of a dream in his mind.

ASHLEY SAMPSON.

Landor

WALTER SAVAGE LANDOR: LAST DAYS. By H. C. MINCHIN. (Methuen.) 6s.

THIS is the story of the last five years of Landor's long life (1775–1864); especially long in the literary sense, for his first volume ("Poems") appeared in 1795, and his last ("Heroic Idyls") sixty-eight years later. His first and last loves were verse, yet he himself said that he felt far more at home in prose and knew that he showed this in his actual writing. But then Walter Savage Landor, like his brother Robert, did have a very shrewd idea of the value of his own work and of the public's probable attitude to that work; in the preface to the "Heroic Idyls," he wrote: "He who is within two paces of his ninetieth year may sit down and make no excuses; he must be unpopular, he never tried to be much otherwise; he never contended with a contemporary"—none was worth the strife—"but walked alone in the far eastern uplands, meditating and remembering." That aloofness, however, extended only to literature, certainly not to life, where he was apt to warm not only his own hands, but those of others, for he was irascible and contentious. His quarrelsomeness and his excessive bitterness about lost property occupy some pages in this able little book, which draws very happily on a hitherto unpublished collection of letters to Browning (here displayed to great advantage). It is only fair to Landor to state that far too much has been made of Landor's pugnacity and that, to quote his latest biographer, "as it was in his life, so it has been since, his merit is greater than his acceptance." Mr. Minchin's book must be added to Forster's voluminously clumsy though indispensable biography and to Colvin's more handy, more readable, and more literary monograph so suitably ending with the sympathetic words: "The indomitable spirit was spent at last, and the old lion was at rest." That spirit and the old charm manifest themselves in the letters no less than in the new poems and the two exquisite new Conversations.

ERIC PARTRIDGE.

This Progress

THE TRAGEDY OF EVOLUTION. By BERNARD ACWORTH. Richard Cowen & Co.

COMMANDER ACWORTH is perhaps best known as a brilliant and inspired critic of orthodox theories of bird migration, and as

the propounder of a fascinating attempt to explain bird migration solely with reference to prevailing winds. As a relentless critic of aircraft in general and of airships in particular, he has had the gloomy satisfaction of seeing some of his prophecies, those concerning airships, abundantly and tragically fulfilled.

His theory of bird migrations is supplemented by a chapter in this book, not the least interesting part of the book. The main thesis of his new work is the evil fruits of a false philosophy, the philosophy of Evolution. There is more than a touch of the prophet about Commander Acworth. Some of his guesses are as inspired, and most of his invective is at least as forcible, as that of Jeremiah. Like all prophets, major and minor, he suffers from a certain inability to discriminate between the conclusions which he has proved by reason and the conclusions which have been revealed to him by the Lord.

I regard this book less as a formal and finished treatise than as the notebook of a first-class critic. The book is full of good things, good things which are bound together by a unity of theme. There is material in this book for at least three volumes three times the size of the present work.

It is a mistake to associate too strongly the disproof of Evolution with the proof of Christianity. None of the truths of Christianity would be affected if we could demonstrate that man is descended from the lower animals. I am convinced that the soundest line at the moment is to concentrate on showing that the proofs advanced by Evolutionists are unconvincing, and that no attempt has been made to meet the real difficulties of the Evolutionary theory. I am sure that it is just as wrong to state that Evolution is definitely disproved as to imply that it has been proved beyond all possible doubt.

It would be perhaps foolish to expect a balanced and moderate statement from a prophet. Commander Acworth is one of the most inspiring writers of the day, and we have every reason to be grateful for the stimulus of this provocative work. Perhaps he will yet give us the book for which we are waiting: a comprehensive, detailed and sustained attack on the Evolutionary thesis.

ARNOLD LUNN.

The Reformation

THE REFORMATION AND THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE. By DAVID MATHEW and GERVASE MATHEW, O.P. (Sheed and Ward, 1934.) Pp. 311. 7s. 6d.

THE title of this book, "The Reformation and the Contemplative Life" (by Fr. David Mathew and his brother), does not give any indication of the novel way in which the subject is treated. Fr. David's recent book, "The Celtic Peoples and Renaissance Europe," might have prepared us, for in the writing of that he showed a signal imaginative power in recreating the past. In this work the events which heralded the Reformation are seen reflected in the minds of the Carthusian order. We are told in the beginning enough for us to understand how the priors of the various Carthusian monasteries and in particular of the Grand Chartreuse and the English foundations would have looked from their eyries on what was passing. Their remoteness from the world, their habit of contemplation would tend to give them a distorted picture, and tempt them to read the present in the light of their youthful secular days. The story is a fascinating one as well as sad and beautiful. The tragedy of the English Carthusians is told with rare penetration, and we are made to understand how and why they hesitated, were inclined to trust Henry VIII and Cromwell, and finally after the model of their friend Thomas More, stood firm against the King's demands and so suffered martyrdom. This method of historical writing demands great sympathy with the chief characters and a comprehensive knowledge even of the tiny details of the period. Both these qualities are possessed by the authors, and if at times we are made to wonder whether the good Carthusians could have known and felt all that is attributed to them, the result is always very pleasing, and the light thrown upon an intricate and difficult period of history considerable.

M. C. D'ARCY.

Books Recommended

FICTION.

HOMEWARD JOURNEY. JOHN MACNAIR REID. (Porpoise Press. 7s. 6d.)
THE ARTIFICIAL PRINCESS. RONALD FIRBANK. (Duckworth. 6s.)

Club Gossip

By Quid Nunc

MANY gamekeepers will be anxious about the continuance of the drought for it may mean the burning of many acres of moorland and woodland, and the destruction of eggs already laid and not infrequently the hen-bird itself and its young and helpless brood. An early summer, if too wet, is detrimental to the successful rearing of grouse, pheasants, partridges, and other birds, and so also is too dry a summer. To partridges in particular the extremes of heat and cold, the undue prolongation of dry and wet weather are equally unfavourable. In very dry weather water-troughs should be put here and there for the use of pheasants.

* * *

THE common pheasant is described as being "two feet eleven inches in length." This meticulous accuracy is interesting, but occasionally the pheasant grows to a very great size. Near Whitehaven, in 1810, one was noticed which weighed fifty-six ounces and measured from bill to tail one yard five inches. In 1827, in Hampshire, a pheasant was killed in the November of that year which weighed three pounds nine ounces and measured from one extremity to the other, three feet ten inches.

* * *

BISLEY will be as attractive a Mecca to the Empire as it has even been. I know no other place which finds sportsmen and marksmen from every corner of the far-flung Empire as Bisley. What a change from the first meeting of the National Rifle Association which took place at Wimbledon in 1860, when Queen Victoria fired the first shot there on July 2. The iron target which was used and the mechanical rest from which the rifle was fired are still to be seen in the Museum of the Association in the central hall of the main office at Bisley.

* * *

THAT meeting lasted a week. The total value of prize money was £2,238, compared with the £20,000 worth of prizes, cups, and trophies shot for to-day. At the first meeting 299 Volunteers attended, while at this year's meeting there will be about 800 serving sailors, soldiers, and airmen, 700 ex-service members of all ranks, 1,200 boys from the public schools, and possibly another 1,000 odd competitors. Incidentally, the famour Chair will carry its forty-seventh occupant of the King's Prize.

* * *

IT was at the first meeting in 1860 that Queen Victoria gave a prize of £250 to be won by serving Volunteers only. The King's Prize, as it is now, is open to all members of His Majesty's Forces in all parts of the Empire, and to all who may have served in the Forces, and there are still a very large number of ex-temporary soldiers eligible. It is, therefore, without doubt, the rifle championship of the Empire. Strangely no Regular serving soldier has won it, but Regulars have only shot for the Prize within recent years, and the Regulars can, at least, claim that they have been the instructors of many of those who have won.

* * *

I BELIEVE I am right in declaring that the game of shooting at a mark is the oldest sport in the world. In old days it was a pebble from a brook, and then an arrow, but the Societe de l'Harquebuse of Geneva, shooting first with crossbow,

and then with the primitive firearm, dates back from 1474, and then the champion held the title of "King." Rifle clubs in England have existed from 1800.

* * *

THE low water has prevented any success in fishing, but I recommend to any who care to try the thrill of night fishing with no moon to help. It needs great care and a thorough knowledge of the pool that is to be fished and also of the bank. The best plan is to go over the ground in the afternoon and leave the stump of a candle under some bush fifty yards or more away from the bank just in case a light should be needed. The approach to the bank must be made without the slightest noise, for the fish are in the tail of the pool and most easily disturbed. The cast down and across stream must be made as noiselessly as possible. A big March Brown well trimmed by the scissors I have found deadly, and the thrill of hooking a seventeen-pounder in the dead of night which either rushes up or down stream, its silver flanks gleaming in the dark, is one of the great events of a lifetime's sport.

* * *

I AM led to believe that the next Irish Sweep will be the last one if the Betting Bill before Parliament passes with its stricter legislation against British participation in it. The present Irish Dail, though it needs money badly, is not "Sweep-minded," and many of its supporters look on the Sweep as an English affair, which it is as far as the main contributors go. Without the English quota it would be of no great size. At any rate, new legislation will be needed in Dublin to give the Sweep another lease of life, for its legal tenure of life has nearly run out, and this may not be forthcoming. In their interpretation of expenses the Irish Government auditors are now so strict that there is very little extra money for agents outside Ireland, not nearly sufficient to take any risk of even a modest fine. I heard of one agent who was allowed only 12s. 6d. to cover his return fare from Euston to Dublin and his expenses—one day—in Dublin. Mr. De Valera is giving no bawbees away.

* * *

A HUNDRED years ago very few of the buildings in the Strand were standing. Possibly the Lyceum Theatre and Gow's Restaurant near by are two of these. I met a well-known American business magnate—a former Nova Scotian—at Gow's, deeply interested not only in the good cheer, solid and liquid, but in the old building, and it was from him I learnt that the original business was owned by a John Smith, who married well, was a good churchman and made his fish shop a landmark in London. The old boxes in the ground-floor dining-room remain. A distinguished peeress and her friend coming to sample a famous old English dish—Norfolk chicken pie—insisted on occupying one of the boxes. "That is one of the charms for which we always like to take visitors to this famous restaurant. Curious old boxes not unlike family pews in a country church."

* * *

THERE is considerable feeling in many quarters over the Army Promotion scandals. Some subalterns, now approaching middle age, are subalterns still. Others, who served in the war, are juniors to officers who joined the Army only a few years ago. Scores of Majors, Lieut.-Colonels, and Captains have to retire compulsorily, thrown, with only small pensions, to the mercy of having to find employment to add to their pensions to bring up their families. Meantime, the highest ranks of the Army are kept on until sexagenarian Generals are the accepted rule. The Army awaits anxiously the long-expected recommendations for speeding up promotion and regulations whereby senior officers can be retired at an earlier age.

LONDON.

SAVOY HOTEL, LONDON.
Telephone: Temple Bar 4343.

PICCADILLY HOTEL. Regent 8000. Tels.: Piqudillo. Cabaret and Dancing in Restaurant and Grill. Restaurant Dinner or Supper 10/6. Grill Dinner 7/6 or à la carte. Evening Dress not essential in Grill.

HOTEL YORK, Berners Street, W.1.
Telephone: Museum 6862-3-4-5.

GREAT WESTERN ROYAL HOTEL, Paddington Station, W.2.

KINGSLEY HOTEL, Hart Street, W.C.1. Running water in All Bedrooms. Room and Breakfast from 8/6 per night. Phone: Holborn 3646. Tels.: "Bookcraft, London."

THACKERAY HOTEL, Great Russell Street, W.C.1. Facing British Museum. Running water in all Bedrooms. Room & Breakfast from 8/6. 'Phone: Museum 1230.

ROYAL COURT HOTEL. Sloane Square, S.W.1. Sloane 9191. Renowned for good Restaurant, 120 rooms with C.Heat.H.&C. water. Fr. 8s. double. Priv.Bath fr. 20s.

IMPERIAL HOTEL. Russell Square. 650 Rooms with H.&C. water. Bath and full Breakfast from 9/6, Double 16/6.

BONNINGTON HOTEL, Southampton Row, W.C.1. Running water all Bedrooms. Room and Breakfast from 8s. 6d. Mod. Bd. Terms. 'Phone: Museum 1010.

CORA HOTEL, Upper Woburn Place, W.C.1. Running water all Bedrooms. Room and Breakfast from 8s. 6d. Mod. Bd. Terms. 'Phone: Museum 4472.

WHITE HALL RESIDENTIAL HOTELS LTD.,
92, LANCASTER GATE, W.2.
Overlooking Hyde Park. P.O. Telephone in every Bedroom. Central Heating. Electric Lift. Garage. Terms from £4 4 0 per week. Telephone: Paddington 3500.

4, MONTAGUE STREET, W.C.1.
Large Private Garden. Adjoining British Museum. Central Heating. Passenger Lift. Terms from £3 13 6 per week. Telephone: Museum 4425.

DE VERE HOTEL. Kensington, W. Opposite Palace gardens. Moderate charges.

SCOTLAND.

BRIDGE-OF-ALLAN.

ALLAN WATER HOTEL. Central for Trossachs, Rob Roy Country, etc.

CRIEFF.

DRUMMOND ARMS HOTEL. On the Great North Road to Scottish Highlands. Tels.: "Premier, Crieff."

SCOTLAND—(*continued*).

GLASGOW.

MORE'S HOTEL. Ideal in every respect. Moderate charges.

GULLANE, N.B. (EAST LOTHIAN).

MARINE HOTEL. Opposite Muirfield Golf Course. Hot and Cold water throughout.

GISSET'S FAMOUS GOLFING HOTEL. Beside Golf Courses. Comfortable. 1st. Cl. Excellent Food. Personal Atten. Illus. Tariff on request. A.A., R.A.C., R.S.A.C. 'Ph. 3.

PERTHSHIRE.

KENMORE HOTEL. Golfing, Tennis, Fishing, Motoring. Restful, bracing.

PITLOCHRY.

ATHOLL PALACE HOTEL. Nine Lawn Tennis Courts. Grounds 46 acres. Garage 80 cars.

IRELAND.

ACHILL ISLAND (Co. Mayo).

THE VALLEY HOUSE. Fully licensed. Own Golf. Tennis. Lake and Sea Fishing. Bathing.

SEASIDE.

BEXHILL-ON-SEA.

HOTEL RIPOSO. Facing Sea. Adjoining Golf Links. Tels.: "Riposo, Bexhill." 'Phone: 472.

NORMANHURST HOTEL. Sea front. Gas fires. Lift. Fully licensed. Night Porter. 'Phone 68.

GRANVILLE HOTEL. Most centrally situated. Moderate charges. 'Phone 1437.

BIRCHINGTON-ON-SEA, THANET.

BERESFORD HOTEL. Golf, Tennis, Sea-water Baths and Electrical Treatment. 'Phone: Birchington 101.

BOURNEMOUTH.

BOURNEMOUTH HYDRO. Hotel comforts. Hydro baths. 'Phone: 341. Modern Gas fires. Lift.

GROSVENOR HOTEL. West Cliff. Central heating; h. and c. water all rooms. Tels.: "Grovenotel." 'Phone: 806.

BROCKENHURST.

BROCKENHURST HOTEL. Tel. 74. Away from noise. Every comfort Excellent cuisine. Chef. 70,000 acres of forest & moorland. Golf. Hunting. Apply Manageress.

SEASIDE—(*continued*).

BRIGHTON.

DUDLEY HOTEL. Adjoining Hove Lawns. Licensed, Lift, Night Porter, H. & C. Water in bedrooms, Central Heating. Bed, Breakfast and Bath 10s. 6d. 'Phone: 4910 Hove. Tels.: Devonian Brighton. Write for tariff, Proprietor.

GRAND HOTEL. Facing sea, covered terrace. Best Family. From 6 guineas week, inclusive.

HOTEL CURZON. Facing sea. Licensed. Quiet. Lift. Moderate terms. 'Phone: 5314 Brighton.

OLD SHIP HOTEL. On the Sea Front. Garage. From 5½ gns. weekly. 'Phone: 2031.

ROYAL CRESCENT HOTEL. Unrivalled situation. Unique marine views. Moderate charges.

BUDE (Cornwall).

MAER LODGE HOTEL (Private). Standing in own grounds. Close sea and adjoining Golf Links. Central Heating. H. & C running water in all Bedrooms. Recommended Winter Residence. 'Phone: Bude 206.

BURNHAM-ON-SEA.

BURNHAM GOLF HOTEL. Close to Famous Links. H. & C. water. Garages. Tennis. 'Phone 142.

DARTMOUTH (Devon).

THE RALEIGH HOTEL. First-class Family. R.A.C. and A.A. Hot and Cold water in all rooms. 'Phone 44.

EASTBOURNE.

ANGLES PRIVATE HOTEL. Sea front. 128 Bedrooms. Dance room. Billiards. Resident Propr. 'Phone: 311.

SUSSEX HOTEL. Cornfield Terrace. Grill room. 'Phone: 362.

HOWARD HOUSE HOTEL (Private). Ideal position. 1 min. Sea; Devonshire Park. 'Phone 846.

FALMOUTH.

FALMOUTH HOTEL. Leading Hotel Cornish Riviera. Due South, facing sea, picturesque scenery. Moderate Tariff. R. J. S. Fields, Manager.

GREENBANK HOTEL. First Class, situated immediately on the water's edge. Overlooking the lovely Harbour, St. Mawes and Pendennis Castles.

FISHGUARD, PEM.

FISHGUARD BAY HOTEL. Adjoining Harbour. 40 bedrooms.

FOWEY (Cornwall).

ST. CATHERINE'S HOTEL. Unique position. Facing Sea. Unlicensed. 27 Bedrooms.

FOLKESTONE.

AVONDALE HOTEL. On sea front facing South. From 3½ guineas. 'Phone 3730. Props. Mr. and Mrs. W. Meadmore.

SEASIDE—(*continued*).

HASTINGS & ST. LEONARD'S.

ADELPHI HOTEL. 100 rooms. H. & C. running water. C. Heating, licensed. From 10/6 daily incl. Garage.

ALBANY HOTEL. A. A. & R. A. C. Finest position on front.

THE NEW QUEEN'S HOTEL. Leading and best. Moderate charges.

YELTON PRIVATE HOTEL. 50 rooms. Next door to Pavilion. Opposite Pier. From 3 gns. Tel.: 614.

HOVE—BRIGHTON.

ST. CATHERINE'S LODGE HOTEL, Kingsway. Facing Sea. H. & C. running water. 50 rooms. Moderate terms. 'Phone: 3404 Hove. Tel.: "Cheerful," Brighton.

HUNSTANTON-ON-SEA.

LE STRANGE ARMS AND GOLF LINKS HOTEL. Close sea. Own Golf Course free. 'Phone: 10.

GOLDEN LION HOTEL. Opposite Pier. 'Phone: 18. Hot water in bedrooms. Hard Tennis Courts.

LITTLEHAMPTON.

BEACH HOTEL. Ideal situation facing the South and overlooking sea.

MILFORD-ON-SEA.

KINGSMEDE. Close to sea. Garage. Lawn Tennis. Good Library. 'Phone 89.

NEWQUAY.

WATERGATE BAY HOTEL (Near Newquay). Finest position on coast. Everything excellent. 'Phone: 25.

PAIGNTON.

REDCLIFFE HOTEL. Best position on sea front. H. & C. water. Central Heating. 'Phone 82533.

PENARTH.

(10 minutes Cardiff.)

ESPLANADE HOTEL. Facing Sea and Pier. H. & C. water in Bedrooms. Excellent Cooking and Wines. Special Residential Terms. 'Phone: 657 & 658. A. E. King, Resident Owner.

RYDE, I.O.W.

ROYAL ESPLANADE HOTEL. Facing Sea and Pier. Tels.: "Band," Ryde. 'Phone: 293.

ST. ANNES-ON-THE-SEA.

GRAND HOTEL. Close to Golf Club and open-air swimming bath. 'Phone: 55.

SEASIDE—(*continued*).

ST. IVES (Cornwall).

TREGENNA CASTLE HOTEL. 75 bedrooms. 100 acres grounds.

HOTEL CHY-AN-ALBANY. A.A., R.A.C. Overlooking Bay. Near Beach, Tennis, Golf. 100 Guests. 'Phone: 59.

SHALDON (S. Devon).
(Near Torquay. Near Teignmouth.)

DUNMORE HOTEL. A really First Class Hotel, with all modern conveniences. 'Phone: Shaldon 2.

SHANKLIN, I.O.W.

ROYAL SPA HOTEL. Only Hotel on sea front. Terms moderate. Officially appointed A.A. & R.A.C. 'Phone: 67

SIDMOUTH.

BELMONT HOTEL. First-class. Overlooking Sea. Lift. Running water and Radiators in Bedrooms.

FORTFIELD HOTEL. Modern. Overlooking Sea. Lift. Running water and Radiators. Garage.

VICTORIA HOTEL. First Class. Overlooking Sea. Lift. Running Water and Radiators. Lock-up Garage.

SOUTHPORT.

VICTORIA HOTEL. First-class Family. Lifts. Garage. Running water in all Rooms. En Pension from 15s.

TORQUAY.

ARGYLL HALL PRIVATE HOTEL. Overlooking Bay. Magnificent view. Excellent cuisine. For en Pension terms, apply Proprietor. 'Phone: 2268.

GRAND HOTEL. First Class. Best position. Sea Front. Golf 18 holes, Tennis, Squash, etc., free.

OSBORNE HOTEL, TORQUAY.
Facing full South and the Sea. Away from all noise and traffic. Fully licensed. Garage for 50 Cars. Illustrated Brochure from Manager.

PALM COURT HOTEL. Level. Sea Front. Fully Licensed. H. & C. Every Modern Comfort. Terms Moderate.

THE BEDFORD PRIVATE HOTEL. Central & restful. Good cuisine. Inclusive from 3 gns. weekly. 'Phone: 3520.

VENTNOR, I.O.W.

BURLINGTON HOTEL. First-class. Facing Sea. Central Heating. Garage. From 9s. per day. 'Phone: 123.

WALMER.

THE FAIR MAID OF KENT HOTEL. H. & C. running water all Bedrooms. Moderate terms. 'Phone 252. Deal.

SEASIDE—(*continued*).

WESTWARD HO!

GOLDEN BAY HOTEL. Leading N. Devon Hotel. Facing sea & famous Golf Links. Large garage. 'Phone: 14.

SPAS AND HYDROS.

BATH.

GRAND PUMP ROOM HOTEL. Lifts. Central heating. Intercommunication with Corporation bath. Tel.: "Pumpotel."

SPA HOTEL. Running H. & C. water and Radiators all rooms. Nine acres. Lift. Orchestra. Own Garage. The quietest hotel position in Bath. Telephone 4224-5 Telegrams: "Spaotel, Bath."

BUXTON.

SPA HOTEL. 240 rooms. H. & C. Water and Radiators. Garage. Tels.: "Comfortable."

EASTBOURNE.

HYDRO HOTEL, SOUTHCLIFF. Facing sea and Beachy Head. South aspect. Ballroom. 'Phone: 643.

HARROGATE.

THE CAIRN HYDRO. Luxurious accommodation for 300 guests. Write for illustrated Brochure.

HARROGATE HYDRO. Ideal situation. Accommodation 300. Lift. H. & C. all rooms. Tariff on request. Established 1878.

LEAMINGTON SPA.

ALKERTON PRIVATE HOTEL. South aspect. Comfortable. Moderate Tariff. Garage. R.A.C. 'Phone 510.

MATLOCK.

CHATSWORTH HYDRO. Glorious situation. Nearest Moors and Golf Links. Lift. A.A., R.A.C. 'Phone 9.

SMEDLEY'S.—Gt. Britain's Greatest Hydro, Matlock. For Health, Rest or Pleasure, 270 Bedrooms, grounds 10 acres. Inclusive terms from 13s. per day. Illustrated Prospectus free.

THE LILYBANK HYDRO. R.A.C. Appointed Hotel. Accommodation, 130 Visitors. 6 acres of pleasure gardens. Sun lounge, "Vita" glass. H. and C. water in all bedrooms. Lift. From £3 10s. per week.

WOODHALL SPA.

EAGLE LODGE HOTEL. Fully licensed. Garage.

PROVINCIAL TOWNS AND COUNTRY.

AYLESBURY (Bucks).

BULL'S HEAD HOTEL. 15th-Century Hostelry. Well known to Motorists. Luncheons. Garage. 'Phone 120.

BEAULIEU, NEW FOREST.

MONTAGU ARMS. 12 miles from Southampton. Thoroughly up-to-date Country Hotel, Oak-panelled, Furnished as Gentleman's Country House. Sunny warm winter climate. Every Comfort in beautiful setting. Private Suites. Comfortable Lounge. Central Heating. Hot and Cold water in Bedrooms. Electric Light. Garages.

CARDIFF.

ROYAL HOTEL. Close to station. First-class. H. & C. water in Bedrooms. Grill room. Motor omnibus.

CIRENCESTER.

(The town with the sporting atmosphere.)

KING'S HEAD HOTEL. R.A.C., A.A.*** Excellent cuisine. Specially reduced terms for winter months to suit present conditions. H. & C. running water in bedrooms. Hunting, Golf, Tennis (6 hard courts), Squash, Bowls. 'Phone 35.

ENGLISH LAKE DISTRICT.

ROYAL OAK HOTEL, KESWICK-ON-DERWENT-WATER. 70 Bedrooms with H. & C. running water and some with private baths. Suites, Dance Room, Palm Lounge, Lift. Write for Tariff. Telephone 23 and 238.

THE KESWICK HOTEL. First-class. Centre English Lakes. Elec. Lift & Light. Cent. Htg. 'Phone: 20 Keswick.

ARMATHWAITE HALL HOTEL. All modern comforts. Elec. Lift & Light. 'Phone: 20 Bassenthwaite Lake. Proprs.: J. & M. Wivell & Son.

HINDHEAD.

PINEHURST, WITLEY, SURREY. (Nr. Hindhead and Haslemere.) 3 mins. Witley Stn. For Sunshine, Pines, Golf. 10 acres beautiful grounds. Home Produce. R.A.C., A.A. Res. Props.: Mr. & Mrs. J. T. Hollowell.

LEWES.

WHITE HART HOTEL. 14th Century. Write for illustrated souvenir and Tariff.

CROWN HOTEL. Reconstructed. Refurnished. H. and C. in bedrooms. 4 guineas week. Walton.

PROVINCIAL TOWNS AND COUNTRY. —(*continued*).

MORETONHAMPSTEAD (Devon).

MANOR HOUSE HOTEL. 200 acres of Park and Pleasure Grounds. Tennis. Croquet. Golf.

PATTERDALE.

ULLSWATER HOTEL. Overlooking Lake. Every Comfort. Free Fishing. Tennis. 'Phone: Glenridding 27.

SALISBURY.

CATHEDRAL HOTEL. Fully licensed. A.A., R.A.C. Lift. Rng. h. & c. softened water & radiators in bedrooms. 'Phone: 399 & 830. Props.: Capt. & Mrs. Gilbert King.

WELLS.

SWAN HOTEL. Facing the Cathedral. Garage. Electric Light. Hot and Cold running water. 'Phone: Wells 21.

WINCHESTER.

GEORGE HOTEL. A.A. appointed. Comfortable. Moderate terms. 'Phone: 491.

NORTH WALES.

BAY HOTEL, RHOSNEIGR. Facing the sea. Excellent Cuisine. First-class Golf. Tennis, Boating, Bathing, Fishing, Dancing. Fully licensed. Electric light and H. & C. water in all rooms. A.A., R.A.C. Telephone: 18.

BANGOR CASTLE HOTEL. 40 Bedrooms with H. & C. water and Central Heating. Oak Lounges, Ball Room, French Chef, Service Garage. Moderate Tariff.

INDIA.

SAVOY HOTEL, Mussoorie.

CARLTON HOTEL, Lucknow.

CONTINENTAL HOTELS

FRANCE.

MENTONE.

HOTEL CÔTE D'AZUR (Eng. Propr.). Central, near Sea. Every modern comfort. Moderate terms.

SWITZERLAND.

AXENSTEIN.

GRAND HOTEL—PARK HOTEL. On Lake Lucerne. Golf. Swimming Pool. Tennis. Orchestra. Red. Pension terms: **GRAND** 15, **PARK** 10 francs.

BEATENBERG (above Interlaken).

REGINA PALACE HOTEL. Summer and Winter Sports. Homelike. Cheap and good.

ENGADINE.

MALOJA PALACE. Grandest Swiss Alpine Centre. Mountaineering, Golf, Lawn Tennis. Boating, Bathing, Trout Fishing. Theatre, Ball Room and Lounge. All winter sports at their best. Illustrated booklet post free.

SWITZERLAND—(*continued*).

CLARENS—MONTREUX.

Centre for all excursions and sports, **THE GRAND HOTEL LE CLARENS.** Ideal situation. 10s. daily inclusive.

ST. GALL.

HOTEL WALHALLA-TERMINUS. Georges E. Stüheli. Up-to-date. Tels.: "Walhalla, St. Gall." Garage.

VEVEY.

CHATEAU. Highly rec. Hotel Pension. Large garden on lake. From 42s. weekly, inclusive.

BELGIUM.

BRUGES.

MEMLING PALACE HOTEL. Grand Place, nr. famous Belfry. Modern. Rooms with private bathroom.

GERMANY.

WIESBADEN.

HOTEL NIZZA, WIESBADEN. Prop.: E. Uplegger. Near Casino and English Church. Moderate terms.

EDUCATIONAL ANNOUNCEMENTS

BOYS.

BETHANY SCHOOL, GOUDHURST, KENT. Education thorough; Situation ideal; Sports, Swimming, Scouts. Evangelical tone. 100 boys, 8 to 18. Founded 1866. Fees £72 per year.

BOYS' CATHOLIC PREPARATORY SCHOOL, ST. LOUIS, HAWKESYARD, RUGELEY, STAFFS. Headmaster: R. D. Jebb, M.A., M.C.

CHURCHER'S COLLEGE, PETERSFIELD. Boys 10 to 18. Fees from £72. Public School Education; leaving Exhibitions; O.T.C.; Swimming Bath; Separate Preparatory School.

CLAYESMORE SCHOOL, WINCHESTER. Small Public School for boys. Special individual attention. Splendid grounds and playing fields. A pioneer school in modern educational method. Moderate fees. Headmaster: Aubrey de Sélincourt, M.A.

BOYS.

HERNE BAY COLLEGE, KENT. School and Higher Certificate. Mechanical Engineering. O.T.C. 120 guineas.

LADYCROSS, SEAFORD, SUSSEX. First-Class R.C. School for Public Schools and R.N. Ideal Buildings. Private Chapel. Teaching by modern individual methods. Many Scholarships gained. For Prospectus, etc., apply Headmaster.

EDUCATIONAL ANNOUNCEMENTS—*cont.*

BOYS.

MALSIS PREPARATORY SCHOOL, CROSS HILLS, YORKSHIRE. Boys 7–14. Special features in addition to usual preparation for Public Schools. For Prospectus apply Headmaster.

SANDBACH SCHOOL, CHESHIRE. Founded 1677; Endowed School for boys 8–18; Playing Fields, about 18 acres. Swimming Bath. Fees £69 per annum. Apply Headmaster.

ST. ALBAN'S, LYME REGIS. Boys' Preparatory. Ideally situated in 16 acres. Open-air bath, Sea bathing; every care. Principal.

ST. COLUMBA'S COLLEGE, RATHFARNHAM, Co. DUBLIN. Public School (Church of Ireland). Beautifully situated Dublin mountains. Fees £100. Entrance Scholarships June.

THE GRANGE, BECKENHAM, KENT. Preparatory for all Public Schools. Careful individual training. Extensive Sports ground in open country. Unsurpassed health record. Prospectus, book of Views, &c., from Headmaster.

Special Tuition.

CRANEMOOR, CHRISTCHURCH, HANTS. Healthy coaching for Matriculation and all examinations under best possible conditions. New Forest and sea, riding and games. F. Pettipher, B.Sc.

GIRLS.

CHALFONT LODGE, GERRARD'S CROSS, BUCKS. Matriculation. Riding. Good health record.

DUNARDARIGH, NORTH BERWICK. Inspected and recognized by Education Department. Preparation for Examinations. Special attention to health. Situated near Sea and Golf Links. Moderate Fees.

GIRLS.

THE LAURELS, RUGBY. Established 1872. Recognized by the B. of E. Private Boarding School. Graduate Staff. Preparation for University Entrance Examinations. Excellent health and games record. A few scholarships available.

VYNE STRATTON, MICHELDEVER. Residential School. Univ. of Lond., and college entrance exams. Scholarships available (£30 to £60). Beautiful home and grounds: (260 acres). Apply to the Head Mistress.

UPPER CHINE, SHANKLIN, I.W. Appvd. Board of Education. Ages 5-19 Entire charge. Preparation all Exams.

CO-EDUCATIONAL.

KING'S LANGLEY PRIORY, HERTS. A School for Boys and Girls based upon the educational principles of Dr. Rudolf Steiner.

MISS M. PUTTICK'S CHILDREN'S CLASSES
(Girls from 4 to 14, Boys from 4 to 9 years)
2 BEDFORD GARDENS, KENSINGTON, W.8.
In this sunny house children are taught by modern methods, to see, learn and admire. Great attention is paid to standard subjects, languages, etc. Visual Education by means of the Cinema, nature study from living things, organized games, rhythmic movement, children's library. Illustrated prospectus on application. Phone: Park 6709.

ADVICE ON EDUCATION.

Through personal visits of inspection, the Director of

COOK'S SCHOLASTIC SERVICE is able to give expert advice on the choice of a school for your child. Consultations in person or by post without fee or obligation. Address: Cook's Scholastic Service, Thos. Cook & Son, Ltd., 45 Berkeley Street, London, W.1.

THE ENGLISH REVIEW

28th Year of Publication

Edited by DOUGLAS JERROLD

CONTENTS, AUGUST, 1934.

Correspondence — *Bernard Acworth*

German Terrorism and British Politicians — *X*

The Death of Democracy—Six Dictators and President Roosevelt — *Rosita Forbes*

Frederick Delius : A Critical Estimate — *Basil Hogarth*

Parliamentary Reform—The Urgent Need (II) — *The Earl of Cottenham*

Madame de Katz — *E. H. Lacon Watson*

Road Traffic — *R. J. N. Willcox, M.I.Mech.E., M.I.N.A.*

Tonton Remembers — *Elswyth Thane*

Farmsteads and Inn Names of Picardy and Artois — *Lieut.-Colonel P. R. Butler, D.S.O.*

A Countryman's Diary — *A. G. Street*

Foreign Affairs — *Sir Charles Petrie*

Literary Supplement : *Hugh Kingsmill ; Geoffrey Grigson ; Malcolm Muggeridge ; Hesketh Pearson; A. Lunn ; A. T. Wilson ; Kenneth Hare ; D. C. Somervell.*

CONTRIBUTIONS ARE WELCOMED AND SHOULD BE ADDRESSED TO THE EDITOR ACCOMPANIED BY A STAMPED ADDRESSED ENVELOPE.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION 14/- POST FREE TO ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD.

EYRE AND SPOTTISWOODE (PUBLISHERS) LIMITED

6, GREAT NEW STREET, LONDON, E.C. 4.

Correspondence

To the Editor of THE ENGLISH REVIEW

SIR,—In his generous review of my new book, "This Progress," Mr. Lunn says: "None of the truths of Christianity would be affected if we could demonstrate that man is descended from the lower animals." He concludes his review by implying that the world is waiting for a book containing "a comprehensive, detailed and sustained attack on the evolutionary thesis"—a book he is good enough to suggest that I should write.

If his first statement is correct, I find it difficult to understand the value of a sustained attack on a theory which makes no difference to Christianity, and therefore to Western civilization which is founded on Christian principles and doctrines. Surely he is asking me to waste my time.

Though he does not mention it, I have devoted a chapter to demonstrating the complete incompatibility between the theory of Evolution and Christianity. Though this demonstration is unsatisfactory, apparently, to Mr. Lunn, it has proved conclusive to the minds of many of my evolutionary friends and a source of embarrassment to two English Bishops.

Your obedient servant,

BERNARD ACWORTH.

July 9th, 1934.

FRESH AIR

—one of the most common prescriptions—Nature's own cure for many ills—greatly needed by many poor souls in back streets and slums. Thousands of drab, monotonous lives have been revitalized through the Church Army's Fresh Air Homes. Mothers and little ones go together, to share the joys of a real health-building respite. The work goes on all the year round.

£5 gives three children and mother two weeks' holiday.

£1 sends mother and baby for a week.

Working Boys and Girls
For these we have a Holiday Home and Camps.

Distressed Gentlewomen
are being provided with holidays.

Our two Clergy Rests
give renewed health to many who give so much in service for others.

Please help these efforts. Gifts for General Holiday Fund welcomed by Preb. Carlile, C.H., D.D., 55 Bryanston Street, London, W.1.

CHURCH ARMY
FRESH AIR HOMES

H.R.H. The Prince of Wales recently said :—
"I do commend this Institution to the Public for their continued assistance."

THE SHAFTESBURY HOMES AND "ARETHUSA" TRAINING SHIP

have just admitted the

30,000th Child

THIS IS A SPLENDID RECORD OF GOOD WORK

Every child who enters the Society's Homes or the Training Ship "Arethusa" is fed, clothed and educated, and trained so that he or she becomes not only a good, but useful man or woman.

FUNDS ARE MOST URGENTLY NEEDED NOW

1,100 CHILDREN ARE ALWAYS BEING MAINTAINED

PLEASE SEND A DONATION TO-DAY

so that this great work of training poor boys and girls may be carried on.

164 Shaftesbury Avenue, London, W.C.2

President: H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES, K.G.

"TRUTH"

Grows Better Than Ever

Its outspoken comments are always valuable to those who desire to keep pace with public affairs. And, of course, the value of its enlightened and critical survey of all Investments of importance is inestimable.

Then there are the authoritative articles by writers of distinction on Politics, Sport, Music, Art, the Theatre, Books and Motoring; the typical diary by the New Pepys, a Queer Story and exposures of all kinds of frauds.

Altogether, the journal—quite apart from its high literary standing—is necessary to everyone who needs an adequate survey of the movements of men and affairs.

NINEPENCE EVERY WEDNESDAY

Obtainable at all booksellers, or from

THE MANAGER, Truth Buildings, Carteret Street, London, S.W.1

by postal subscription at the following rates:

3 months, 10s. 10d. 6 months, £1 1s. 8d. 12 months, £2 3s. 4d.

GOOD SOCKS FOR FOOT COMFORT

The quality of the St. Wolstan Wool of which the Two Steeples No. 83 Socks are made assures foot comfort. It is the highest grade botany obtainable, and No. 83 socks are of a generous medium weight so that they pad your shoes. Men wearing these socks for the first time are surprised how comfortable they are. Obtainable from your hosier in each half-inch size from 8½" to 12" and in a shade for every suit.

Two Steeples No. 83 Socks

4/6 per pair

Write for price list containing patterns of Socks and Underwear; Dept. 43, Two Steeples Limited Wigston, Leicestershire.